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**A GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE TRIPLE BURDEN OF PRODUCTION,
REPRODUCTION AND COMMUNITY SERVICE IN THE REHOBOTH
CONSTITUENCY**

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ABSTRACT

There has been no research on gender roles and the triple burden of women in the Rehoboth area. Yet women in Rehoboth as many elsewhere are faced with socially ascribed roles in production, reproduction and community. This research seeks to explore and understand the gender division of labour and the gender relations within this community. As a diverse country Namibia has different cultures, we witness that women and men are taught their gender roles through the use of specific cultural practices for instance female initiation, male initiation, genital mutilation and many others which reinforce patriarchy and power relations. However, these specific practices are not present within the Rehoboth community, which is a more religious community and thus base their gender division of labour on their religious beliefs. These religious beliefs could be seen as the bases for the Rehoboth culture as all decisions regarding the family and activities are made based on religious principles. As this is a community of mainly people from the Baster ethnic group, the findings can thus not be generalised to the whole of the country. This study, which attempts to yield literature on a community where there is an existent knowledge gap, tries to identify and explore the gender division of labour of some of the men and women. As this is an ethnographic study of the community, the study also identified the power relations between men and women regarding decision-making, relating to activities within the productive labour, reproductive labour and community service. By comparing the debates surrounding the gender division of labour to the findings, we were able to gain clear insight into a community that has been extremely understudied.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this study to the whole of Namibia as a way to inform the nation about the gender division of labour within the community of Rehoboth, particularly as a focus on improving the division of labour between men and women within the community and in the country. I would particularly like to dedicate this study to the University of Namibia and hope that it may encourage future research within this particular field and community.

This study is also dedicated to the community of Rehoboth to show my appreciation for allowing me to conduct this study. It sheds light on an important part of the Rehoboth community and thus I would like to dedicate it to the men and women of Rehoboth. As a token of appreciation to my parents, friends, colleagues and mentors for their support and guidance, I would also like to dedicate this study to them.

Thus, this study is dedicated to anyone of any age, sex, race, class or financial status, to reflect and realise how this can bring about change in men's and women's lives on a major scale within this community and Namibia as a country. Everyone and anyone can benefit from this study.

DECLARATION

I, Charlemaine Wildene Husselmann, declare hereby that this study is a true reflection of my own research, and that this work, or part thereof has not been submitted for a degree in any other institution of higher education.

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C.W. Husselmann

Date: 20 June 2016

Charlemaine Wildene Husselmann

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

WID – Women In Development

USAID – United States Agency For International Development

**IDG DSE – International Development Group Development Strategy And
Effectiveness**

TGNP – Tanzania Gender Networking Programme

REDP – Rural Energy Development Programme

MVA – Motor Vehicle Association

P.A. – Productive Activities

R.A. – Reproductive Activities

C.S. – Community Service

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Orientation of the study

This thesis seeks to explore how women and men in the Rehoboth area divide the roles they occupy in that community. The coping strategies women employ will be examined as little is known about how women deal with the burdens put on them by the gender division of labour. This will be an exploratory study which will make use of qualitative ethnographic research to reach an interpretive understanding of the triple role women in this area play.

Generally in the majority of cases, women occupy three roles in society, the productive role in the economy, the social and the biological reproductive role (childbirth, childcare and domestic responsibilities; as well as care for older family members). The social/community role consists of activities they perform outside work and family for instance, in the community like; organising weddings and other social functions. It is believed that men only occupy the productive and community role and not the reproductive role. Men see their role outside the home as more important and relevant. That is why, for example, many men take part in community organisations and in cases get paid for it. According to Sikod, (2007), in Cameroon we find that women make up 50% of the population, however, they do not have any say when it comes to major decision-making, at household or national level.

These decisions affect their lives, and therefore, their relations with men in their community. It therefore becomes important to effect change within the division of labour between men and women as it influences decision-making power, (Sikod, 2007). Due to the correlation between decision-making power and the division of labour, we need to explore how women's power is limited by the activities they are expected to do. It is not always clear what the effect of the two is upon each other. By examining how much power women have in deciding who does what, we can show how the division of labour is done within the triple roles. Sikod (2007), further explains that when we look at the type of activities members within a household are involved in, we see that this impacts on their contribution to household welfare as well as their decision-making abilities.

The Harvard Analytical Framework will be used to critically analyse both men and women's workloads in the Rehoboth constituency. According to Khamati-Njenga and Clancy (n.d.), The Harvard Analytical Framework was used in 1996 by the Rural Energy Development Programme (REDP) in Nepal to create male and female community platforms with equal responsibilities to work on their project of enhancing their rural livelihoods. This is a good example of the use of the Harvard Analytical Framework to show its relevance as an international measuring tool of gender relations and the division of labour. This study looked at the gender division of labour and how the power relations affect who does what in the different roles, thereby addressing the equality/inequality between men and women.

It will not just be enough to look at women's workloads, but also men's as the division of labour is a gender issue. Revealing any breakdown of traditional gender roles that have been socialised into the men and women, the coping mechanism of women was explored to see how they deal with the burden of their triple role. The coping mechanisms women employ are those actions they use to counter any pressure from the roles. These coping strategies are vital to understanding how women can carry the triple burden without succumbing to the demands these roles make emotionally, physically and on time.

1.1.1. Background

The existing literature about the town of Rehoboth in Namibia focuses mainly on the history of the town. There is not really any academic reflection or body of literature pertaining to gender aspects of the town. The study aimed to produce new insights into the town, focusing on the gender aspects of the division of labour. In order to understand why this community is so understudied we need to look at the history of this community in order to understand the gender aspects there.

According to the article "*Who are the Rehoboth Basters?*" (n.d.), the town of Rehoboth is situated approximately 90 kilometres south of Windhoek, the capital of Namibia. The people settled there in the early 1870s, and they created their own legislation, many years before the Germans took over and installed their colonial rule over Namibia in 1885. The majority of the people come from the Baster ethnic group. They constitute an indigenous minority group of people in present day Namibia.

The first Basters emigrated from the northwestern frontier of the Cape Colony; and lower parts of the Orange River after the middle of the 19th century. The strong religious roots of the community come from their contact with missionaries like those from the London Missionary Society and the Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft, at the beginning of the 19th century.

Influences from these religious groups remain strong and this is evident from the way religion dominates the lives of these people, and the comfort that this community takes from retreating into religion at every turn. Religion is one of the unique features of the Baster community. Given that men and women are heavily influenced by religious consideration in all spheres of life, it is thus no surprise that gender relations are influenced by religious discourse which actively promotes patriarchy.

1.1. 2. Key debates that emerged out of the literature review

Many authors have written about the gender division of labour. Frederick Engels, in his work *“The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (1909)”*, focused on women’s reproductive role in supporting men’s productive labour. However, he did not highlight the importance of the family as the division of labour does take place within the family sphere specifically. Following on from Engels, a Marxist, other theorists – the socialist feminists – developed the Social Reproductive Theory, specifically aimed at looking at the links between productive labour and reproductive labour. Social reproductive theory, specifically, aims to identify and examine the division of labour.

Socialists like Alexander Kollontai (1921) and Juliet Mitchell (1966) take the lead in advocating the importance of women's reproductive labour and identifying the different roles women occupy to sustain the family.

The link between these activities in productive and reproductive labour affirms the critical role each plays, to the extent that without the one the other will not be possible. Kollontai not only linked, but also highlighted, the social importance of women's child bearing ability; and the importance of providing services to the mother in order for her to participate within the scope of productive labour.

Mitchell, who takes the lead in linking the reproductive and productive labour, also goes so far as to discuss how women are disadvantaged by these roles. She argued that these roles can take away women's power due to the fact that they are expected to do the majority of the work within the three different roles. This is the same belief as those shared by the black feminist Angela Davis (1981) and Bell Hooks (1981) who also spoke of how women can be oppressed by these roles, while they can also draw strength from them. Davis speaks of the period of slavery, arguing that black women had no other choice but to fill these roles and take care of their families. Betty Friedan (1963) on the other hand, spoke only of the middle class white women's plight in America, of the mysterious illness they are faced with specifically the housewives' plight. While being different, all these theories share the commonality of examining the triple burden of the division of labour and the disempowerment women are faced with regarding their relations with men.

1.2. Statement of the problem

The issue studied was the division of labour between men and women. Through this, the coping strategies women employ to deal with the triple burden will be revealed. It is believed that women carry the majority of the responsibilities in the gender division of labour. The problem presented is that women are the ones who do most of the work. The objectives were to clearly understand what these roles were and to critically evaluate them. It is also relevant to understand the generational changes that have occurred over time. Due to a lack of information and gender sensitivity, the community is very conservative. Although women carry the majority of the reproductive and productive work, they have little decision-making power concerning the triple roles.

1.3. Objectives of the study

The aim of the researcher was to collect relevant data with a view of identifying gender aspects of the division of labour and in so doing, assess and draw conclusions in respect of the decision-making power of men and women. The objectives of the study were:

- a. To describe the different roles men and women occupy;
- b. To analyse how women cope with these roles;
- c. To critically evaluate these roles in terms of the Harvard Analytical Framework and;

- d. To track the generational changes in comparing different age groups of men and women in the division of labour.

The researcher was able to achieve all these objectives. With the use of sound methodological procedures, the data collected will give the reader a clear picture of the household activities, the productive activities and the community services these individuals are a part of or engage in. The reader will also be able to track and compare these findings with the literature that was used and so gain an understanding of the key debates surrounding the triple roles and the gender division of labour.

1.4. Significance of the study

Although there is literature that refers to the gender roles and gender division of labour in Namibia, little is known about the women and men in the Rehoboth constituency or the gender dynamics in that area. The aim of this study was to shed light on their activities and describe the coping mechanisms women employ to deal with these triple roles and also noting any generational changes in comparing different age groups in the division of labour. It is aimed at revealing a breakdown of traditional gender roles in that community and so fill a knowledge gap. It is important to understand the gender division of labour within the Rehoboth community and the gender relations. As little is known on the subject, it is of significance to shed light on these two important factors in this community.

1.5. Limitations of study

As was outlined in the proposal of the study, it was expected that there will be a number of limitations to the study – and there was. Below, the expected limitations which were first identified in the proposal, are mentioned.

- The study was limited geographically to the Rehoboth area, and as such, results may not be applicable to other towns in Namibia.
- Some participants have refused to take part in the study, thus limiting the representativeness of the findings. There was one couple in block B who refused to take part in the study as the husband has cited that he is “too busy” to participate even though his wife was willing.
- Difficulty was experienced in finding couples in the different blocks of Rehoboth. Some were not home in many instances as they were at church mostly as Rehoboth is a very religious community.
- There was a fair amount of driving involved when driving from one block to the next even though Rehoboth is a small town.
- When it came to the interviews, it was hard to have both the woman and man at home so as to conduct their interviews one after the other. In many instances the researcher had to go back to one couple's house more than once.

- Some couples did not fill in their activity journals, thus there is a case of missing data when it came to analysing their activities. What was experienced was a lack of willingness of some participants to adhere to completing the journals for the required time period. It was also due to the fact that many participants experienced time constraints when it came to completing their journals.
- A language barrier was evident for some of the participants, as many of the couples/participants were more comfortable completing their activity journals in Afrikaans and conducting their interviews in Afrikaans.
- The qualitative methodology that was applied has its own limitations when it comes to generalising the results to the population.

These were all experienced in the field. As this is a very religious community, it became an obstacle finding participants at home as they were mostly at church when they were not working.

1.6. Outline of the thesis

An outline of the chapters will be discussed in an effort to give the reader a synoptic view of this thesis. This chapter will focus mainly on the orientation of the study, statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, the key debates of the literature review, the significance of the study, the final aim of the study, and finally an outline of the different chapters.

Chapter One is a brief introduction of what the study comprises. In Chapter Two the Research Methodology is outlined on how the study was conducted and the procedures followed by the researcher. Chapter Three covers the Literature Review. It reviews some of the literature surrounding the triple burden, specifically, key theories regarding the gender division of labour. Chapter Four is the presentation of findings generated during field work. Chapter Five is the discussion of the findings and compares it with the Literature Review. Chapter Six will outline some conclusions and make recommendations based on the study and is followed by a list of references and annexes.

In order to gain a clear understanding of the gender division of labour, an in-depth qualitative study is needed and therefore this study is an ethnographic study. As this is a new field of inquiry into the Rehoboth community, it employs' an explorative method of inquiry to shed light on the gender division of labour. The methods of data collection will include an activity journal and semi-structured in-depth interviews.

1.7. Conclusion

By combining the necessary tools to address the specific research questions which will be outlined in the next chapter, the researcher will be able to shed light on the question of the triple burden of productive labour, reproductive labour and community service in the Rehoboth area. By comparing the findings to theories proposed on the question of gender division of labour, the reader will be able to see all the similarities and differences.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This explorative study will depart from a global perspective to review international experiences in order to draw a comparative analysis with the situation in the Rehoboth area. The international world view is situated within a theoretical framework which covers the expectant gender roles based on sex; and influenced by numerous theoretical debates such as the Social Reproductive Theory, Marxist Theory, Black Feminist Theory, and Liberal Feminist Theory. Since Rehoboth is situated in Namibia which is an African country, the literature review examines the broader Namibian context from the pre-colonial to post-colonial era as well as the African world view on the triple burden of productive labour, reproductive labour and community service. Within Namibia, emphasis is placed on initiation rites and other cultural practices, to illustrate power relations between genders.

This literature review focuses on the role of women and men in the family, the workplace and the community. It covers the Namibian sexual division of labour, international experiences and theoretical frameworks that seek to explain them. The literature was applied to women and men in Rehoboth to try and bring an understanding; and to illuminate the roles these women and men occupy in relation to production, reproduction and community service. It also focused on how power is manifested in gender relations, especially decision-making in the home.

The study will be a critical consideration in determining whether patriarchy is reinforced, or if there is a movement towards empowering women, especially in domestic labour and civic relationships. Understanding the debates surrounding the notions of these triple roles will be important in discerning how men and women decide who does which task in their interpersonal relationships. Given the limited available domestic literature on decision-making in terms of gender roles as they apply to work in the Rehoboth area, this study aims to fill a knowledge gap in the Namibian literature. With so many gender differences between men and women the gender division of labour is an important aspect of highlighting the power differences between men and women.

The focus thus was on the cultural practices that influence the power relations between men and women and thus the division of labour, and alternately how gender power relations influence cultural practices. Some of these cultural practices are believed to benefit men more than women and it would be important to look at them. Given the practices and experiences in other parts of the country as they relate to gender relations, and although Rehoboth does not have many cultural practices or initiation rites for boys and girls, it was interesting to note the outcome in Rehoboth. This outcome was compared to other areas of Namibia where there are cultural initiation rites. Not only was the study looking at how cultural dynamics and power relationships between men and women influence the triple burden women carry today, but also examined practices and attitudes in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods of Namibian history.

All these eras are critical in the formation of the Namibian state and the development of cultural practices today. Although there were strong influences from the colonisers, many Namibian ethnic groups maintained their own cultural practices. The combining of these two influences was also examined in determining how we see our gender roles today.

Complementary to a discussion of the Namibian aspects of the gender division of labour, there was a focus on feminist arguments regarding the gender division of labour. There exists a large body of feminist literature regarding the gender division of labour and women and men's gender roles. The literature will specifically reflect on influences from Marxism and Social Reproductive theory regarding the triple roles. The most influential resource from the Marxist school of thought is Frederick Engels and his work "*The Origins of Family, Private Property and State*" (1902) in which he outlines women's role in society. Although Engels makes valid arguments, the school of Social Reproductive Feminist theory has substantially moved the debate on women's roles in society further.

The literature examined these arguments and compare them not only to each other, but also to the Black Feminist theory and the Liberal Feminist theory regarding women's roles. The most important of the Liberal feminists is Betty Freidan and her work "*The Feminine Mystique*" (1963) where she discusses women's roles in the home. These are important works detailing the division of labour in order to see how women and men divide their activities and how society influences this division.

The gender division of labour not only has a social aspect but also racial dimensions which were examined through the writings of Angela Davis and Bell Hooks. This is an important element in the analysis of these texts. It was of importance to see whether in Namibia men and women divide tasks differently in the different racial groups as the general belief is that division is the same in all groups. By applying the writing of these African American feminists to the Namibian setting, we will thus be able to identify any similarities or differences in the division of labour.

In the examination of the gender division of labour, the literature also looked at the different activities of the men and women. Hence, a gender analysis becomes critical within the Rehoboth community to determine the nature of the division of labour, i.e. equal or unequal. The Harvard Analytical Framework was used for the analysis of the gender division of labour. When looking at the triple burden of productive labour, reproductive labour and community service of men and women we must have a comprehensive understanding of the theoretical debates. Some of these debates include the Marxist arguments, Social Reproductive arguments, Black Feminist arguments and the Liberal Feminist arguments. Although there are women who are still excluded from productive work outside the home, many have ventured into the labour market. Naturally, this increases their workloads. However, women are still excluded from the productive role, allowing men to exercise their authority and decision-making power over women. Many men try to and succeed in controlling women's labour power, therefore, one can see many men giving women the larger burden of the work in all three roles.

Men do not take part in the reproductive role because of their gender differences. These differences are important in understanding the triple burden which mainly women carry due to the power differentials.

According to Huber (1991) and Lorber (1994), one of the central features of the gender inequality between men and women is the gender division of labour, both in the economic sphere and the socialisation of the gender identities of men and women. This demonstrates that the triple burden of the productive work, reproductive work and community service plays a central role in the gender inequality between men and women. Men enforce gender power relations by the way decisions are made in and outside the home. Men allocate unto themselves the right to make decisions on behalf of the family, including their spouses, without consultation. In some instances, women become complacent in ceding authority and responsibility to men. In many instances men make the decisions about who does what, and women fall under their power as it is the men who are socialised as having all the power.

Women are disadvantaged due to the fact that they are socialised to follow the instructions of their husbands and fathers. This is due to how society constructs masculinity and femininity and so men and women are socialised according to this. By looking at the construction of masculinity and femininity in Namibia we will be able to see how this influences the triple burden. The way society views men and women determines how tasks are divided and by changing this, we could gain an equal distribution of tasks between men and women.

Through empowering and changing cultural practices, we will be able to reach a consensus about the socialisation of men and women, and not base the socialisation on the biological sex of men and women. The belief is held that men do certain tasks because they are men and women do certain tasks because they are women, and this is thus the basis of socialisation. The gender roles men and women occupy are ingrained into them from a young age based on their sex and so we see a link between gender and sex. On further examination of literature, it became clearer how this link enforces views of masculinity and femininity. Understanding the roles women occupy in the triple burden, change can be effected to the betterment of both men and women, and so involve both equally in the activities and tasks in each sphere of the gender division of labour. Thus, before proceeding to looking at the gender division of labour within Namibia there must first be an examination of international experiences. By examining how men and women divide their time within the international community, it makes it possible to compare it to the Namibian experience.

2.2. International experiences

The global perspective on gender division of labour or triple burden is believed to be unequal with women carrying the brunt of the work inside the home, irrespective of whether they have jobs or not. This literature explored whether these roles are studied together to get a clear view of the time spent in the different roles or whether they are studied separately. It is believed that it is better to study the roles together as they are interlinked and dependent upon each other.

Miller and Garrison (1982), argues that the empirical literature which exists on the gender division of labour is awkwardly divided between those who study the division of household labour; and those individuals who study gender segregation in the paid labour market. Therefore, it is divided into two schools of study even though it is beneficial to join the two as they are linked together. This is crucial in understanding the triple burden of productive labour, reproductive labour and community service as all three roles interlink and can cause the oppression of women, as they are in many cases only limited to one even though the other two can be credited with the oppression of women. This study thus looks at them together to establish and understand the link between the three roles.

Cohen (2004), states that the problem with the separate study of housework and occupational segregation is that it cannot reveal the dynamic and cultural relation between the two spheres of productive and reproductive roles. These spheres are also referred to as the public and private spheres. The Socialist Feminist debates will help elucidate the link between the two roles in the literature. The reader gains an understanding of the link between the two and how culture and gender relations influence one's participation in one or both of these spheres.

Combining the two spheres in the same study shows the importance of women's labour in the household and the labour market. This link is made clearer by the Marxist Feminist/Social Feminists such as Juliet Mitchell and Alexandra Kollantai.

In spite of an established theory regarding women's role in the productive sphere, women still carry the full responsibility of household chores. Women are also in many instances limited in the productive sphere due to their biological sex with certain fields of work and positions reserved for men. Even though there have been advances in the equalisation of the access to work for both men and women, there still remains gender segregation, as it is believed women must always be available to fulfil the reproductive role and take care of the home and the family.

As discussed above, the division of labour in the home is done on the bases of the sexual division of labour. This also applies to some instances outside the home as men decide on the roles and responsibilities both inside and outside of the home. This is important to understand when examining the triple role of women. Charles (1993) argues that even though married women might be involved in paid work outside of the home they have, however, as their first priority, the care of their husbands and children. This increases the work burden for women as they carry this double burden of working inside and outside the home. Charles (1993) further states that the distinction is made between who does what and it is sometimes jobs which are called men's work and women's work. This is an important distinction being made as clear gender lines are being drawn into the division of tasks in the public and private sphere. Understanding the time division is also important in understanding the triple burden of women.

As each gender spends time differently in performing the different roles, it is believed that women spend more of their time in the home and men more of their time outside the home. Winqvist (2004) affirms this notion, explaining that in Europe women spend approximately between 60 and 70% of their work time doing household chores, and between 30 and 40% working in the market. On the other hand, men spend between 55 and 65% of their work time in the marketplace and only between 35 and 45% of their time doing household work, thus making the total work time higher for women than men.

This demonstrates a good example of the gender division of time both in the home and in the workplace. It shows that women spend most of their time in the home and less in the workplace, and men spend more of their time in the workplace and less in the home environment. Sofer and Rizavi (2010), argue that the figures mentioned are the average numbers for households whose adult members are aged from 20 to 74 years. This could be thought of as common for households in Europe and other countries across the world. This can also be applied to the logic of African households, although it can be argued that in the African household men spend less than the time mentioned above in the home.

Internationally the literature revealed that women spend more of their working time within the home, and so it could be concluded that they do most of the housework like in Africa. The time spent on a specific role is as important as understanding how tasks are divided between men and women.

Sofer and Rizavi (2010) reveal that no matter what the age group of the members of the household are, the division of time and tasks stays the same. Therefore the literature reveals there are no or limited generational changes to the gender division of labour. This factor will be an important consideration in analysing the findings from Rehoboth. In particular, it will help determine whether men and women in the Rehoboth area still do the same tasks as previous generations, or whether there have been an increase in male involvement within the reproductive role, and an increase in female involvement in the productive role and community service.

According to Shamir (1986) a number of studies, the majority in developed countries, have examined the link between the involvement of women in the public sphere of paid work, and their husbands' participation in the household tasks. Most of the attention of these researchers has been based on the assumption (and hope) that married women's increased participation in economic activities would ultimately lead to some changes in the traditional division of labour in the household. However, this is not the case in many instances and it would rather be prudent to look at the extent to which the division of labour has changed in the home. Although there is change, with men becoming in some cases more involved in household tasks and raising and taking care of children, it has not yet reached an equal division of labour in the household. Even though there are signs of improvement in the traditional gender division of labour, many men still devalue women's work and prefer to perform productive labour above reproductive labour.

According to Scanzoni (1975) this assumption was drawn from the exchange view of family relationship, which credits the unevenness of the traditional division of roles in the family to the unevenness of paid work roles in the productive labour. Pleck (1983) argues that according to this view held by many, husbands must share more in the family responsibilities of the reproductive role when their wives share some of the economic bread winning responsibilities of the productive role. Although this is the held assumption, the reality is quite different with many men still doing fewer tasks than what is expected from them in the reproductive role as they see this as women's sole responsibility. The root of this behaviour lies in the socialisation of men and women in respect of gender roles.

The socialisation of gender roles is further entrenched in the way work being done is valued within the community and the home. Charles affirms this with his statement that, "[a]s well as being clearly demarcated, men's and women's work is valued differently; men's is consistently more highly valued than women's and is regarded as requiring a level of skill which most 'women's work' does not" (1993, p.57). Although he makes this distinction only in the public sphere of work, this is also the case in the home and the community setting of the work. This view can have the effect of devaluing women's work inside and outside the home, and this can present a challenge to them in coping with their workloads and the triple roles they occupy in their daily lives.

”Men exploit (or ‘appropriate’) women’s unpaid domestic labour and benefit directly from it: they do not take responsibility for or perform much of the routine and never-ending domestic work themselves, and thereby gain an advantage in the labour market, being ‘freer’ than women when it comes to selling their labour power to employers”(Pilcher and Whelehan, 2004, p.32). Following from the above, it is apparent that men appropriate more power than women both inside and outside the home, which could lead to exploitation of women’s labour in both areas .Women are thus unable to make lasting decisions when it comes to dividing up tasks in the home, as they are by virtue of their gender burdened with doing all the work in the home and keeping the home in order and taking care of the children. This shows inequality between men and women with women at a disadvantage and men only gaining from the current situation. Thus a re-evaluation of these tasks is necessary to reach a sort of equality in the home and a share of decision-making power.

Many women carry a lot more of the work burden than men when it comes to the division of labour. According to Kirk and Okazawa-Ray (2010) the majority of women who are employed outside of the home carry the main responsibility of housework and caring for the children. Sociologist Arlie Hochschild (1989) called this a “**second shift**”. Kirk and Okazawa-Ray (2010) further states that even though this is more characteristic of single parents, many women living with a man do more housework and child care than their significant others.

Women are thus expected to complete these tasks uncomplainingly and perform such tasks daily, whether they live with a man or not. This is seen as a woman's duty which she must fulfil according to the way she was socialised. Understanding the gender roles in the home will make it possible to understand the triple role women assume in society, as they come to see it as what is expected from them. According to Beneria and Sen (1997) the majority of all domestic work consists of the production of use value through the joining of all commodities bought in the market and domestic labour time.

The goods and services produced in the private sphere of the home by women contribute to the reproduction of the labour force and to its daily upkeep. Therefore, keeping in mind these activities women engage in at home and the products they use all combined makes it possible to sustain their families, and be able to perform their functions in the public sphere they occupy. Beneria and Sen (1997) further argues that domestic work performs a crucial part of the functioning of the economic system in the community role as well as the work role people occupy. In the majority of the households, this work is generally done by women and is often undervalued and it is unpaid labour and forms part of the triple burden which women must fulfil. "Women perform the great bulk of reproductive tasks. To the extent that they are also engaged in productive activities outside of the household, they are often burdened with the problems of a 'double day'" (Beneria and Sen, 1997, p.49). This reflects the thoughts of many of the theories discussed above and those which will follow below. And now there must be an examination of the African example of women's work.

2.3. African example of women's role

Looking at the example of the Suku society of Central Zaire, Africa, anthropologist Igor Kopytoff looked specifically at women's roles and identities within that society to identify the gender divisions.

According to Kopytoff (2005, p.128), the division of labour before the colonial period and well into the 1950s within this society was structured on the basis of gender considerations. The women did all the subsistence farming, together with fishing and keeping house, gathering wood, fetching water and cooking, while the men kept miniscule gardens of mainly herbs, tobacco and bananas, and hunted and trapped animals as well as keeping large domestic animals. This shows how strictly tasks were divided amongst men and women within that society. Kopytoff (2005, p. 128), further points out that all professional occupations as well as political positions were only kept by men as it was seen as the man's duty to preside over these occupations.

These roles were seen as part of the identity of the Suku as it was seen as natural for women to bear children and care for them. "The role of childbearer was seen as flowing directly out of the woman's identity – out of her state of being a woman. The appeal to this existential identity constituted a terminal explanation for her role of childbearer; the statement was sufficient and nothing more needed to be terminal seems obvious to us – because we happen to share it.

We are tempted to think that we share it because the relationship between woman and childbearer is biologically given. True, but the terms of the relationship may be reversed. It is conceivable that, in some societies, the term we might gloss as a woman may in reality be seen as an imminent feature of the existential identity of childbearer”, (Koptyoff, 2005, p. 130).

Koptyoff (2005) further argues that the Suku believed that a woman could not be initiated as a lineage head or any other official position and that she could only occupy one role, but not another ritual role all due to the fact of the simple explanation “she is a woman”. The Suku were subject to their identities as male and female and were socialised within these identities and the expected roles they must fulfil. In many African societies there is a strict adherence to what is seen as masculine identity and what is seen as feminine identity, and so women and men are socialised into these identities to fulfil the gender roles that are expected from them. However, counter arguments exist which maintain that the gender division of labour has changed over time in society. Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer and Robinson (2002), reported in their study that there has been significant changes in the gender division of labour inside the home since the 1960s, where men are taking on more responsibilities as a result of their wives devoting more of their time to wage work, and “...changed attitudes about what is expected, reasonable and fair for men to contribute to the maintenance of their home” (Bianchi et al, 2002).

The gender norms surrounding the division of labour have greatly changed and the extent of this change can be measured by who does what in society. This is an important stepping point as it can shed light on the triple role of women and how they cope with the responsibility of assuming these roles.

2.4. Theoretical frameworks that explain the gender division of labour

2.4.1. Socialisation into gender roles and division of labour

The gender division of labour in the triple role is linked to the patriarchal social system dominant in all societies. Asiyanbola (2005) states that patriarchy has been a major feature in many traditional societies. Patriarchy is a system of social stratification and differentiation based on the biological sex, which ultimately provides a material advantage to men while at the same time placing a tremendous constraint on the roles and the activities that women occupy. Tradition and culture dictate the sex and gender roles of men and women and how they are socialised into their roles.

When discussing the biological sex and the gender roles this study must reveal and understand the link between them. This goes back to the socialisation of boys and girls and it plays an important role in the activities both inside and outside the home. Before the literature gets into this, it must be understood what is meant by gender, gender roles and biological sex in order to make the link between them.

According to Planned Parenthood (n.d.), gender can be seen as our social and legal status as boys and girls, women and men, and that culture, in fact, determines our gender roles and what is meant by masculinity and femininity. Furthermore, gender is made up of a complex overlapping mix of beliefs, behaviours, and characteristics that men and women have, and these beliefs form part of our gender roles. This means that gender roles are the way individuals act, what they do and say; thus expressing themselves as either being a girl or a boy, man or woman.

Society plays a key role in forming these characters, thus talk about the socialisation of boys and girls into their gender roles. Clearly culture plays an important role in determining gender indicating that it is socially constructed by outside influences. This is important to understand as these influences come from the biological stance that you are born with, as these determine how you will be raised and what you must believe in.

Planned Parenthood (n.d.), further states that sex is biological; , that it is our genetic makeup, our hormones, and our bodily parts, specifically focusing on our sex and reproductive organs. This is what is meant by sex when looking to describe one's biological features of being a man or a woman. By using this, the link is made between gender and sex. Planned Parenthood (n.d.) further explains that gender refers to society's expectations about how we should behave ourselves and think as girls or boys, women or men. This is seen as our biological, our social and our legal status in society as women and men.

Therefore boys and girls are socialised into their beliefs and principles as to what it means to be a man and what it means to be a woman. Based on these beliefs the construction of masculine and feminine identities are done so as to know which roles must be occupied in the division of labour.

Not only is it important to understand the socialisation process and the linking of biological sex to gender. The formation of masculinity and femininity must be understood as the basis for the division of labour. Men and women are socialised to believe that they have certain characteristics and do certain activities related to labour, which make them a man or a woman. This is how masculine and feminine traits are developed and by looking at this literature, it reveals how this determines the gender division of labour.

2.4.2. Masculinity and femininity

The general view people have of masculinity and femininity is how men and women view themselves in their community, how they are socialised to behave. Starting at home, young boys and girls are taught masculine and feminine traits. This knowledge is then linked to specific activities reinforcing the gender division of labour.

According to Stets and Burke (n.d) femininity and masculinity are grounded in the social (gender) rather than biological (sex) meaning that it is socially constructed. Society decides what being female or male means. This is seen as gender identity.

This study must therefore outline that masculinity and femininity are not innate, but are based upon the social and cultural conditions people live in. Therefore, society determines our believe systems and who does what activities in the different roles. It is through this view that the literature reveals how girls are told that a woman's role is in the home, and that boys are told that a man's role is outside the home. This is seen as masculine and feminine. If a man is seen as being too active in the home, it is believed he has lost his masculinity. These types of behaviours enforce our view of what it means to be male or female, with the dominant view that taking care of the children and home is a feminine trait.

In Namibia there are strong cultural attachments to what is perceived as masculine and what is seen as feminine. Kaundjua, Kauari and Mufune (2014) explored these views by looking at young people aged 15 – 19 years and 20 – 24 years in the north of the country and their gender perceptions. From the study it is clear that young peoples' views on masculinity and femininity influence how they view the gender relations and the gender divisions in society.

According to Kaundjua, Kauari and Mufune (2014) traditional gender relations in many communities in Namibia favour men over women. Not only is this a common view where women are subordinate to men; women also possess less power in relationships, fewer opportunities and restricted access to resources in their community.

Thus the view of femininity is that women are seen as weak and subordinate to men while the masculine view is that men are in charge and make the decisions. Mufune (2003) and Indongo (2007) explain that in Namibia there are initiation ceremonies that are mostly focused on women. Some of these are *olufuko* (“a traditional initiation of girls and young women into womanhood and marriage”), and these same practices are used to validate women’s submission to men. Thus the literature reveals that there is an encouragement of the traditional views of masculinity and femininity in Namibia.

Not only does the cultural setting of a community contribute to the construction of masculinity and femininity, but also mainstream media and other factors such as religion, education and family. Current media could be seen as a strong influencing factor for young generations of boys and girls apart from the family which will be discussed below. According to Frank (1999) the media or “malestream media” constructs the image of women being housewives and mothers. This gives a very strong image of how women are viewed in society and this limits women’s image as being strong and influential members in their community. Frank (1999) also explains that another category women placed in the media is that of a princess or beauty queen, or a beautiful bride. This is seen as the promotion of Western values., The need for constant dieting; straightening your hair and the investment in beauty products shows the promotion of the sexualisation of women in the media. These are the main constraints of how women are portrayed in the media. It is rare that women are promoted as powerful businesswomen or involved in the development of a community.

In contrast, Frank (1999) mentions that, in contrast, men are portrayed in the media as being powerful actors and proficient decision makers in all factors of life, be it in religion, education, politics, economics, culture or sports. This ideal puts men at an advantage of how the media portrays men and women in the different sectors of life. This male view of men and women also influences the gender relations between men and women, and so it also influences the gender division of labour. It is assumed that men will always go for the ideal woman as portrayed in movies or any other media outlet. They will either seek to sexualise a woman or see her in a domestic setting, the latter being the dominant view. This influences the relationship of men and women at the family level where women are taught to be mothers and wives. Therefore, they take on the responsibilities or the bulk of the responsibilities of the household tasks, making sure to take care of their families and the home. The traditional views also influence these media portrayals as we have seen in many African movies the types of roles women play. Tradition and culture is a strong influencing factor in determining the gender division of labour between men and women.

Asiyanbola (2005, p. 2), states that, “[t]raditionally men do not participate in domestic work, including child rearing – such tasks are considered to be the exclusive domain of women. Males are classed as having the following qualities: strength, vigor, virile/powerful, courage, self-confidence and the ability to meet the outside world i.e. animal and human intruders head-on and deal with effectively”.

These qualities were reflected in the kinds of work that men engaged in. These qualities limit their participation in the reproductive labour, as it is thought that it is unmanly to do domestic work or care physically or emotionally for the children. Although women also possess the qualities mentioned above, they are ignored and society only focuses on their feminine attributes.

Aweda (1984) maintains that women traditionally oversaw the domestic chores. Women kept the house, processed and cooked all the meals for the family. They also in many societies helped in the planting and harvesting of the food crops and the cash crops of the family. Their primary responsibilities, however, was the bearing and rearing of the children from birth till they are grown up.

The only time men were looked to when it comes to child care, was in cases where extraordinary discipline was necessary especially for the boys. The notion behind this is that men show the boys what their role in society is and what it means to be a man. Women are expected to be in the home and outside in the community to teach girls about their responsibilities. It could be said that women take the lead in socialising boys and girls into their gender roles. This is why there is a strong division of labour and responsibilities based on sex, and it is difficult to break free from these stereotypical gender roles they are being socialized into.

2.4.3. The role of family in the gender division of labour

The division of labour starts in the family where family members make decisions about the roles of each member in the home. This division becomes more narrowed down to the gender division of labour where the men decide who does what activities. This results in the bulk of the work becoming women's duties. Women carry the brunt of the workloads in the home and sometimes outside the home. According to Pilcher and Whelehan (2004) the domestic division of labour can be referred to as the distribution of work activities between family members inside the home. These work activities are those tasks and responsibilities that are necessary for the ongoing upkeep and maintenance of the home and its members, in other words the social reproduction of the family unit which is the central unit, which supports all other roles occupied. This is important to keep in mind as the examination of these roles will become more specific to who does what and how much work inside the home.

Pilcher and Whelehan (2004) further argues that the notion of the 'sexual' division of labour or the 'gendered' division of labour is used to identify historically, and currently, the considerable differences between men and women. Each has their responsibilities and performance of daily tasks necessary for the survival and existence of the household. These differences reveal who has decision-making power in the home. Historically this has always been men and it has not changed much.

Although the majority of women work outside the home they still perform the bulk of the work in the home when they come home. This shows that there is a clear power relation between women and men, and that men have the power in the home, especially in many African societies. To better understand the power relations between men and women we must look at the cultural practices. These practices not only promote the dominance of men over women in the home, but also enforce them, thus giving men decision-making power over the division of labour. Later, the researcher explores these cultural practices and how they link to the power relations and the division of labour.

Many African men, especially Namibian men, believe that their significant other must perform all duties in the home, including all the child care and child rearing, while they do not play a significant role in caring for the children. Washbrook (2007) suggests that the assumption that people have of differing responsibilities according to gender, has differing consequences for the levels of human capital men and women choose to acquire and the occupations they choose to pursue. This is shown in many cases due to the assumed responsibilities people take on because of gender. While many women choose to pursue careers which will allow them to be available for their reproductive responsibilities inside the home, men choose to pursue careers which will allow them to bear the financial responsibilities, as it is assumed that they should take care of the family financially. With these assumed responsibilities of what men and women should do it takes away a lot of the decision-making power from women. Therefore, men have more power to make the decisions regarding the division of roles and responsibilities.

Washbrook (2007) further states that this assumption is so clear and ingrained in the individual returns to education and experience of the labour market, and is growing. The more hours an individual works, the more power he/she has, however, this is true for men mostly. With access to resources like education, a job and work hours in the market place we see that an individual (a man) also has more power in the home. They are able to influence how tasks are divided up and how much time is spent on a task.

Women anticipate specializing more within the reproductive role and thus they have fewer incentives to accumulate human capital through education. It is for this reason that many women do not finish their schooling years, but marry earlier due to cultural expectations from their families. Many women in Africa, specifically, are groomed to be good wives and mothers, and because of these cultural expectations they assume the reproductive role and responsibilities without much protest. Men as well assume that women's place is in the home and that men's place is outside the home, which limits the participation of women outside the home and men in the home.

According to Ambunda and De Klerk (2008, p.48), "[g]ender roles, i.e. the characteristics, and thus duties and responsibilities attributed to members of the two sexes by virtue of the fact that they are male or female, are most prominent within the sphere of the family household". This is important to remember as gender roles are socially constructed and that men and women are socialised into these roles from birth.

These roles can be changed if there is a willingness from both sexes to change how they divide the duties and responsibilities within the family as well as outside of the home. Ambunda and De Klerk (2008) further point out that the duties in the home are divided between husband, wife and siblings based on gender stereotypes and - not necessarily on ability or capacity. The division of these roles can be linked to the construction of masculinity and femininity within these societies. In many instances the construction of these social identities of what it means to be a woman or a man influences the gender division of labour within society, and so socialisation of work based on sex takes place.

As was discussed above, we see that this is in fact the case when we examined how masculinity and femininity were constructed on the beliefs, attitudes and stereotypes of society. Willenger (1993) maintains that with the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the United States, many employment opportunities were created outside the home in the economic sector. It was widely agreed that men would assume these jobs in production and the women will maintain the household and care for the children. This indicates a strong support for the argument that a line within the division of labour between men and women is based on their sex. Willenger (1993) further argues that in so doing the provider-homemaker role division between men and women was created, and with it came a host of expectations regarding the behaviour, characteristics, and traits of women and men. This shows clear expectations of what is feminine and what is masculine in the eyes of society.

Thus was created an equality of oppression and reward by these gender roles where men and women were seen as equal but different, and men and masculinity valued more than women and femininity. By understanding the extent of the masculine and feminine identities, there will be a better understanding of the gender division of labour as with these identities there are certain expectations of who does what in society.

According to anthropologist Leith Mullings (1997) there are four different kinds of women's work in the United States: “**paid work** in the formal sector; **reproductive work**, including housework and raising children, as well as paid work taking care of children, elderly people, or those who are sick; **work in the informal sector**, which may be paid under the table or in favours returned; and **transformational work**, volunteering in community, professional groups, and clubs of all kinds”. Not only does Mullings point out the different work roles women occupy but makes a clear distinction between each. This could be linked to the triple role women occupy as these are the same roles women in the Rehoboth constituency occupy as this study reveals. The comparison was made between women in the United States to women in Africa, as these are similar roles they occupy globally.

There is not only a focus on women's roles, but men's as well as it is important to understand both men and women's roles, in order to make a clear gender analysis. Examining men's roles and activities sheds light on the extent to which they share the responsibilities and activities with women.

”Interest in men’s family roles has centred primarily on the question of whether men’s participation in childcare and household tasks increased as a result of their wives’ increased labour force participation”, (Willenger, 1993, p. 108). It will be important to see if men’s participation in the home and taking an active role in caring for the children has increased, due to the fact that their wives have entered the productive labour force outside the home. However, few studies exist in examining men’s roles. According to Willenger (1993) there exists little empirical interest in men’s attitudes regarding their work and their family roles, to determine if these men are willing to restructure their work role outside the home in order to participate more fully in the family role.

This was the case of the studies done in the 1980s, where they did not dwell much on the question of men’s roles within society and recognizing their importance. “The paucity of such data leaves unanswered the question of whether men have been actively resisting change in work and family roles, just dragging their feet, or embracing change in some areas but not others. Also unclear is whether some groups of men resist change more than others”, (Willenger, 1993, p.109). Currently little research exists in examining these roles and the aim of this research is to explore these phenomena within the Rehoboth area. The assumption being that nothing has changed much within the years since this theory was proposed, and it was of note to look at this and discover whether it has changed, or has remained much the same of men not taking an active part within their family roles.

Some of the most influential theorists who have written on the gender division of labour are feminists. Those who do stand out are the Marxist and the Social Reproductive Feminists and to link what has already been said, we must look at their perspectives. Of note are some of the Liberal Feminists, specifically Betty Freidan, and these are discussed next and linked to what was already mentioned. However, before linking these to what was already discussed, a comprehensive understanding of the theoretical debates surrounding the different aspects of the gender division of labour and the triple burden is needed.

2.5. Sociological and feminist debates on the gender division of labour

2.5.1. Marxism on gender division of labour

The Marxist view of the relationship between the productive and reproductive roles sees them as linked. Bryson (1992) argues that Marx and Engels both saw the productive and reproductive role as the essence of society. The use of one's own labour in the production process of the economy and the reproduction of life through procreation can be seen as linked together. Marx and Engels call this the 'double relationship': on the one hand as a natural process of human life and the other a social relationship between individuals. This research aims to see if this is the case in the community under study.

Marx's analysis fails to look at the importance of women's labour and only focuses on men's labour. This is why many Marxist feminists have criticised and produced a different argument to include the importance of women's labour while sticking to some of Marx's arguments.

According to Saba and Saba (1982) what Marx fails to discuss is that one of the important things which the male worker needs to maintain his labour power and activeness in the productive sphere is a wife. In fact, the whole discussion of domestic labour/reproductive labour and its link to the economic/productive sphere is absent from Marx's analysis of the labour force.

When applying Marxism to the discussion of productive labour, reproductive labour and community service, it is important to make the link between the three when applying Marxist ideals and this is what many feminist socialists do. Saba and Saba (1982) further explain that women's unpaid domestic labour is clearly essential in the reproduction and upkeep of men's labour power for the productive sector. What is perhaps not clear is that it is important for capital profit in the economy. Women's reproductive labour is never acknowledged as important to the upkeep of the men's labour power, and how it contributes to the productive and community service which they engage in. Although women are also part of the productive and community service roles, their labour in those sectors are also undervalued, and not acknowledged by the men in those roles.

Even though Saba and Saba pointed out the lack of women's role in Marx's theory of labour, they fail to acknowledge Engels' contribution as a Marxist theorist. He made the point of acknowledging women's role in the labour market, thus producing an alternative view to that of Marx. According to Engels (1909, p.61), "The division of labour between both sexes is caused by other reasons than the social condition of women". Engels tries to point out that there are a number of factors influencing the division of labour. This could be linked to the role cultural practices and power relations play between men and women. With this, the division of labour can also be the owning of private property as Engels indicates.

Engels (1909) argues that, with the downfall of maternal law (as this is what he believed existed) came the notable overpowering of the female sex. The men took control, especially within the household and thus stripped women of their dignity, and thus they were enslaved, seen as tools of men's lust and mere machines for the reproduction of children. Engels thus suggests that men made it a point of gaining control and power over women and so control them in all aspects of their lives. The men not only had control over their sexuality within the home, but also their labour in the home, and so limiting women's productive power and increasing their reproductive responsibilities. This is an important element to understand as the power relations between men and women also determine the division of labour within the household. Here, we can see references to the patriarchal system of dominance over women within the home and so controlling them.

Engels (1909, p. 89) further states that, “[t]he women became the first servant of the house excluded from participation in social production. Only by the great industries of our time the access to social production was again opened for women... In the great majority of cases the man has to earn a living and support his family...” This of course is still the case today and although Engels makes a valid point about women being confined to the home and only have limited access to the productive sector, he does not go far enough in establishing the link between reproductive and productive labour. He does, however, introduce the notion of social production and discusses women’s roles in both the reproductive and productive labour. From this we find that other theorists build on this and so develop the Social Reproductive Theory which takes its cue from Engels.

2.5.2. Social reproductive theory

The Socialist Feminists made the link with the productive work and the reproductive work and saw that one is dependent on the other. Taking their cue from Engels they established the need to identify the importance of women’s labour within both spheres. The Social Reproductive Theory thus argues for a link between productive roles and reproductive roles, and this could explain the triple role women occupy in society more than men. To understand the aspects of the Social Reproductive Theory, we must understand how women are viewed in society according to this theory.

De Beauvoir makes this image clear in her work *'The Second Sex'* (1949). In this, she tries to outline the situation of women within society. "... Woman cannot in good faith be regarded as a worker; for her reproductive function is as important as her productive capacity, no less in the social economy than in the individual life", (De Beauvoir, 1949). This is an important statement by De Beauvoir as she illustrates the link between these two roles women are expected to occupy.

As a Marxist feminist and thus moving towards the Social Reproductive Theory this was an important distinction in understanding women's place in society. De Beauvoir (1949), further explains that we cannot merely regard a woman as simply a productive force within society, she is also for a man a sexual partner, a reproducer of his children, and finally an erotic object – an "Other" through whom he searches himself.

This gives a clear picture of how women are viewed by men and is a contributing factor to women's triple burden. She is expected to fulfil all these roles uncomplainingly within society and because of this she is oppressed by them. The division of labour is based heavily on this premise as men use this as the basis for dividing tasks within the home and outside the home. Following this statement, the researcher better understands what other Social Reproductive Feminists had to say about the division of labour and women's oppression because of this.

One of the most influential Socialist Feminists is Alexandra Kollontai. Bryson (1992), states that Kollontai viewed social responsibilities as being attached to motherhood and thus out of line with the recent feminist thought. Kollontai argued that in any communist society, the community should care for the pregnant mother and her child, maternity changes from being a personal choice to becoming a social duty. By this Kollontai argues that the mother is not solely responsible for the care of the children, but that it is a societal responsibility.

Kollontai (1921) argues that, for the state the most important duty is to help the working mother reduce the unproductive labour involved in the caring of, and physical needs, of the child. The most important social obligation of the mother is to give birth to a healthy baby. Kollontai (1921) further explains that the labour republic must provide the expectant mother with the most favourable possible conditions during her pregnancy; and that the woman for her part must observe all the rules of hygiene during her pregnancy; remembering that until the birth, she no longer belongs to herself, but she is serving the collective, she is producing from her own flesh and blood a new member of the labour republic. By serving this purpose Kollontai tries to explain the importance of linking the productive and the reproductive labour force. In order for there to be a working force, women must reproduce children and take care of them and in return the state will take care of the pregnant mother. Therefore, they co-exist and so are dependent upon each other. Without taking care of the one, the other one will not function properly and this is the essence of social reproduction.

Although women are the reproducers of the next generation of labourers, they must also be able to perform in the productive labour sector. A woman receives assistance in the reproductive sphere, even though there are still some tasks she must perform as wife and mother in the home. Then there are her tasks in the productive sphere and the community service where her attention is also needed in the upkeep of her family and her community. Although Kollontai points out the importance of the state involved in caring for the working mother, thus linking the reproductive labour to the social productive labour, another Socialist goes further and discusses women's subordination within these roles.

In her article '*Women: The Longest Revolution*' (1966), Juliet Mitchell not only discusses the links between productive labour and reproductive labour but also how women could be disadvantaged by these two roles. Mitchell (1966) states that, "...the first division of labour was the first formation of oppressor and oppressed – the first division of labour was between man and woman. The first domination must be given priority – it must be the first to go". With this very statement Mitchell makes it clear that at the root of woman's oppression is the division of labour and this must therefore change. As was discussed earlier, one of the factors contributing to a woman doing the majority of the work was the power relation between her and a man. Mitchell shows that this is an important aspect of the analysis of the power relations and gender division of labour. Therefore, we cannot study the one without the other as they go hand in hand and promote and reinforce each other. This is very much in line with Engels' point of view when he discusses women's role in the labour market.

Accordingly, Mitchell (1966) argues that women in Africa are seen to perform their 'heavy' duties in a contemporary African peasant society, not because they fear physical reprisal from their husbands, but because these duties are 'customary' and they are thus socialised into the role structures of the society they are a part of. This is an important point when we link to the above statement showing that women are taught from birth what is expected of them to perform in their society. This puts women at a disadvantage and at an inferior position to men giving men power over them and limiting women's participation in the productive role. By ensuring women perform their duties they are also making sure that the productive sector is maintained by the reproductive labour of women. This is a very important aspect if one aims to understand the triple burden women carry within their family.

The theory of Social Reproduction was constructed on Marx and Engels' view of the labour market, how reproductive labour at home is needed to ensure that there is a working labour force in society. Marx, however, did not regard women as part of the labour force, but only viewed their reproductive labour as part of the productive labour.

Jackson and Scott (2002, p.3), outline the Marxist argument for the link between reproductive and productive labour. Marx (1976, p.717-718) argues "[s]ince capitalism requires a constant supply of labour, it must be 'reproduced' in two senses. First, the worker must be kept fit enough to work each day and thus must be fed, clothed and sheltered; second, the working class must reproduce itself over time through producing and rearing the next generation of workers.

In the previous sense the working class is reproduced through the workers' consumption of food, clothing and so on through which 'the means of subsistence given by capital' (i.e. wages) are converted into 'fresh labour power'. This is an important base for the Social Reproductive Theory as it lays the foundation for explaining how productive labour and reproductive labour are linked. Juliet Mitchell takes this and develops it into the Socialist view of labour pointing out the importance of women's labour in the home and to not take it for granted.

However, Jackson and Scott (2002) states that Marx ignored the fact that the whole process of reproduction itself requires labour, the cooking of all meals and the washing of clothes is done by none other than the proletarian's wife. Women's labour in the triple roles of society is important for the reproduction of productive labour outside of the home. The labour in these three areas of private and public sphere is linked and must not be seen as separate from each other. The black feminists on the other hand try to argue for a multitude of oppressions which can enforce and maintain the gender power relations and the gender division of labour.

2.5.3. Black feminist theory

Like the Marxist and Social Reproductive theorist, the Black Feminist theorists also put much of their emphasis on the power relations between men and women when they talk about the division of labour. As they discuss from the perspective of black women, they view this oppression as more intense for black women as for white women.

According to Davis (1981) black women were able to escape the psychological damage industrial capitalism inflicted on white middle-class housewives, who was seen as having feminine weaknesses and were expected to show wifely submissiveness. However, since the time of slavery, black women had to show strength and so experienced sexual equality due to working alongside men in the cotton and tobacco fields, and when industry moved to the south, they could be seen working in the tobacco factories, etc. Thus, black women could hardly become weak but had to become strong for their families and communities. Davis (1981) further explains that black women, however, had paid a heavy price for the strength and independence they have acquired and enjoyed. While they were not just housewives, they have carried the double burden of wage labour and housework.

This indicates that although it was expected of white women to stay at home and be housewives in the era of the Industrial Revolution, they did not carry the burden of doing wage labour like black women. This could be seen as a critical analysis of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* which will be discussed below. White women were only considered to belong in the home, while black women had to fulfil both roles in order to care for their families. This was seen as a double oppression upon black women as it was expected of them to take care of their families from the time of slavery. Black women deemed it as their responsibility and duty to carry this burden for the sake of their families.

In contrast, Bell Hooks discusses more clearly how a black woman in the age of slavery was treated by her husband. Hooks (1981) states that enslaved black women did submit to existing sex-role patterns which in turn granted men higher status than women. This greatly mirrored those sex roles found within the patriarchal white America. Black women were also subjected to the same sex or gender roles as that of their white female counterparts even though they were slaves. On the other hand, even though they submitted to these roles, they also experienced the extra oppression of racism; something which white women did not experience. This fact makes black slave women's experience more oppressive than their white female counterparts as well as black men who only experienced racism.

“Enslaved black people accepted patriarchal definitions of male-female sex roles. They believed, as did their white owners, that women's role entailed remaining in the domestic household, rearing children, and obeying the will of husbands”, (Hooks, 1981, p.47). This is a very clear statement that Hooks makes; no matter what race you are, patriarchy is a dominant aspect of any male-female relationship. It is expected and thus socialised within blacks and whites that the man is the head of the house, and the division of labour is done according to this assumption.

Women are taught which roles are theirs from a young age and they accept this and this is the case with many African households. The element of patriarchy showing up within the period of slavery only shows that this ideology is part of a society's history from Africa to America.

Hooks (1981) further states that the structure of marriage within the patriarchal society was such that it was based on a system of trade. It was a system where men were traditionally socialised to be economic providers for their wives and children, and this was traded with sexual, housekeeping, and nurturing services provided by women. This is a clear picture of how men and women were socialised into their gender roles what is expected from them in society. Many men and women today still follow these expectant gender roles as this is the custom among men and women.

In her other work '*Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics*' (2000) Hooks continues to talk about the plight of black women within a predominantly white and male society. However, she not only talks about black women but also white women and the similarities in the experiences of both. Hooks (2000) argues that no matter a woman's class or race, those who stay at home working as housewives are often isolated, lonely and depressed. While workers in the labour market, whether male or female, do not feel secure in their work they do, however, feel a part of something larger than themselves. This is a very important point made by Hooks who not only talks about the gender division of labour, but the importance of men and women working outside the home. This gives them a sense of belonging and importance of being a part of something other than being bound to the reproductive roles they have to fulfil. Hooks (2000, p.50), further explains that when a woman/housewife spends all her time at home attending to the needs of her family, the home becomes a workplace for her, not a place of relaxation, comfort and pleasure.

As it is expected from a woman to see to the activities at home, she derives no comfort or pleasure from doing this as it is her expected role. This could be seen as having a demoralising effect on women and looking at how women cope with this and whether their husbands help at home can indicate if this changes for her. It is not only important to look at the division of labour, but also at the effects these divisions have on the individual, and Hooks shows that this is an important element in gender relations. Davis and Hooks showed that race is also an important element of the gender division of labour, and that for black women it is a double oppression. Black women are expected to carry out this double burden of performing productive labour and reproductive labour, and it is especially hard on them because they also experience racism in the same breath. Although Davis and Hooks' analysis is mainly on the period of slavery, they brought in important insights into understanding patriarchy at that time and the division of labour.

Hooks' discussion on how all classes and races of women experience housework shows that they have the same feelings regarding productive and reproductive labour. This analysis is similar to the Social Reproductive theorists and should be taken up within that same idea except with the element of race. It is important to also look to the Liberal Feminists to see whether they share the same arguments as discussed above, or whether their arguments are significantly different. As Davis gave a critical analysis of the roles white women and black women were expected to fulfil, it was a sort of critical analysis of Betty Friedan's work which contains the importance of the gender division of labour.

2.5.4. Liberal feminist theory

In contrast to the views discussed above, there have been opposing views of how the structure and division of labour should be, particularly in the family or private setting. The Liberal theorists argue that instead of being a basic part of life, the family is more of a burden to women. One of the most influential of the liberal feminists is Betty Friedan and her work *The Feminine Mystique* (1963).

Friedan's analysis mainly focused on American middle class white women in the 1950s. According to Friedan (1963) there existed within the minds of American women for many years a buried unspoken problem. This was a strange feeling of dissatisfaction, a yearning for more than that which women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban housewife struggled with this problem alone. Friedan does not identify this problem, but only speaks of the feelings which these housewives experience within their lives.

Friedan (1963) explains that these housewives were taught that to be a truly feminine woman she does not have a career, higher education, political rights – or the independence as well as the opportunities that old-fashioned feminists fought for. For instance, some women, in their forties and fifties, still remember painfully and with regret giving up those dreams of a career and independence, but now younger women no longer even think about these things.

Therefore, Friedan demonstrates that within the twentieth century the image of a feminine woman has greatly changed and evolved into what the ideal woman should be. This narrowed view of women only having a place in the home and not outside the home has greatly damaged what feminists have fought for before the twentieth century, putting women's rights and views back many years. This not only had the effect of putting back women's rights, but also did nothing to better the situation of the gender division of labour. Instead of promoting what feminists have fought for, society has pushed against it to bring in this view of 'the housewife' which all women should strive for. This limits women's opportunities to education and careers by forcing them to only focus on the needs of their husbands and children and keeping house.

What the women in their forties and fifties experience is what Friedan tries to highlight, the regrets they have of giving up careers to be housewives, and then experiencing the dissatisfaction that comes from this choice. This can be linked to what Bell Hooks discussed above about women who are working feeling more fulfilled than those who just stay at home. They want to feel a part of something instead of having to run through a daily routine of keeping house, cooking, and taking care of children and their husbands. What Friedan tries to show is that women need to be outside the home to achieve a sense of completeness and happiness. The reproductive role is not enough for many women, and so they must also try to be part of the productive role and this is the view of countless Liberal Feminists. For them a woman does not have a fixed place which defines her as being a woman but she can and must assume multiple roles in order to be complete.

This contributes to the view held that the family is a burden for the woman which she must break free from. Although Friedan explained that being a housewife was not enough for many women, she failed to recognise that many women carry a triple burden. Granted, her analysis was on middle class white American women, she failed to see that women from different backgrounds who are a part of the activities outside the home are overwhelmed by all the roles they occupy. Betty Friedan is seen as the leading Liberal Feminist in the discussion of women's labour. There are others who hold differing views from hers in their analysis of women's labour and the division of labour.

Bryson (1999) states that, even though few women devote their entire lives to keeping the home and caring for their family, the majority of women today do not feel liberated, but exhausted and even exploited as it is expected from them to go out and work as well to continue their traditional family responsibilities. This is a common view in many capitalist societies; even though women are being liberated, they are not entirely free from the responsibilities that come from the triple roles.

Liberal Feminists argued that women felt trapped by their family responsibilities, however, they failed to develop a theory on the family. "...Liberalism has never developed an adequate theory of the family, but has simply assumed both that it is a necessary basis for a civilised society and that it is an area of personal life which should be free from political interference. As a result, it has failed to see the extent and social importance of the work done by women within the home, or to consider the consequences if women are no longer available to do it", (Bryson, 1999, p.126).

Although Liberalism advocated the equality of women and men, they have failed to see the importance of women's role in the family and how it is linked to the public sphere. How women's work and responsibilities are valued in the home will determine how their work is valued outside of the home. In many instances, if there is a de-valuing of work, then it is assumed women fail to cope efficiently with their roles. One of the ideas which were argued for, was a society where individuals were not aware of any specific roles they had to occupy or be socialised into in order to achieve equality.

The leading theorist of this argument is John Rawls (1971). Countless other Liberal Feminists took up his argument and applied it to their discussions on the division of labour. Although there are not many Liberal Feminists who write about the roles and division of labour, some have discussed this issue. Bryson (1992) discusses Rawls' view of how society should be, "Rawls had discussed the kind of society that might have been planned by individuals who did not know in advance which social positions they were to occupy. He argued that the only kind of inequality that would be agreed to by those behind this 'veil of ignorance' would be that which in fact benefited the least well off members of society; this 'difference principle' was the principle for the just distribution of resources in society and meant that inequality could not be defended in terms of the needs or merits of those already advantaged". With this he tries to discuss a society where people are not socialised into specific gender roles which can lead to inequality in the division of labour and the division of resources.

This can be applied specifically to the family as socialisation takes place at the family level. This notion of a 'veil of ignorance' will cut out the problem of only one of the sexes being advantaged above the other, and the other sex being disadvantaged because of how society has structured the socialisation process, and the division of roles and resources within a community. Although Rawls had the idea of an equal society, this is not the case in many societies across the globe, as there are clear gender lines when it comes to the socialisation process and the division of labour. Countless Liberal Feminists argue that many of the roles women engage in strips them of their freedom, and they believe that women must fight for the freedom of equal participation in all roles and activities.

One of the Liberal Feminists who applies Rawls' theory or argues for a practical application of Rawls' theory is Janet Radcliffe Richards (1980) who takes his theory and adds more of a feminist approach to his ideas. Bryson (1992) explained, "[h] owever, Richards argues that a more consistent application of Rawls' principle, according to which knowledge of one's sex would also be firmly behind the 'veil of ignorance' and family structures could be questioned and would lead to a fundamental challenge to the gender divisions in society. She argued in particular that a sexually just society would require both measures of affirmative action in the workplace, and a radical restructuring of work and childcare arrangements that would increase the choices available to women and ensure that the benefits and burdens of having children were shared more equally between the sexes".

With this practical application Richards tries to make Rawls' theory most applicable to the situation of gender division of labour, and what should be done to improve the situation both at the work place and at home. However, to achieve this, society must be able to first influence how men and women view their roles, and through them, change the socialisation of men and women; a sort of re-socialisation would need to take place. In order to do this, we must know what activities they engage in, in the productive, reproductive and community service roles and how resources are allocated.

The theory presented by Rawls and made practical by Richards can show that a society where sex does not play a role there can be no gender inequality. On the other hand, as mentioned previously, many Liberalists have failed to acknowledge women's importance in the family sphere, and failed to develop an adequate theory of the gender division of labour. They focused more on the political aspect of freeing women and giving them equal rights to men. Although Rawls and Richards tried to argue for a society where a 'veil of ignorance' existed when it comes to gender issues, they failed to recognise what an important aspect these gender issues are to the equality of women.

An adequate Liberalist theory of family and gender division of labour will take into account the gender relations in the home, and the socialisation of the gender division of labour as well as the triple burden women carry. It will examine the value of women's work and how women are not benefiting enough in the home when it comes to resources and time spent on tasks.

The theory will also take into account how men do not play a major role inside the home and focus their attention more in the public sphere and its activities. Nevertheless, there exists a clear theory of the family and the gender division of labour.

Marxists and Socialist Feminists, as discussed above, clearly state how this division advantages men above women, and how women are ultimately left out in the decision-making process most of the time. By changing the attitudes of men and women, we will then only be able to reach an equality of the gender division of labour within the different roles, and an equal distribution of resources such as time. Thus, unlike the Liberal Feminist view of work and family the Marxist as well as the Socialist Feminist theorist saw the importance of women's work both inside and outside of the home.

By having gained an understanding of the theories surrounding the gender division of labour, an examination of the Namibian history and literature is needed. This will now make it possible to link these theories to the Namibian experience, and so try to understand the division of labour in the Rehoboth constituency.

2.6. Pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial gender division of labour in Namibia

In order for us to understand the division of labour and the burden of the triple roles within the Namibian setting, we must look at the history of Namibia from the pre-colonial period up until the post-colonial period. This can shed light on the traditional views people have on the division of labour in Namibia.

Many of the Namibian people's views and ideals are shaped by their cultures and their beliefs. The pre-colonial period was a time when Namibia was a country where strong traditional values were held about the men and women's place in their different cultures.

Lebeau, Iipinge and Conteh (2004) states that there exist many social structures that contribute to gender inequality in Namibia. Many of these social structures relate to Namibia's historical past that held much discrimination against women at every level of society. The gender relations were also more strained with women having limited or no decision-making power. The men ruled the household and made all the decisions, even when they were out working away from the home in another town and the family was back home. The man always had power over his family no matter where he was and the woman always consulted him before doing something at home.

Things have of course changed since the pre-colonial and colonial periods; women are now more active in community activities and participate in the productive role.

2.6.1. Pre-colonial Namibian history

In Namibia's dense history, we will find how the gender division of labour was done and how the gender relations between men and women were conducted. However, we must understand that there are different periods within Namibian history.

According to Greiner (2009), Namibian areas known as ‘home-lands’, ‘reserves’ and ‘Bbantustans’ that are deeply rooted in history, and social structures where migration patterns exist, were shaped by pre-colonial mobility in the different communities. This can be linked to how the division of labour was sustained and promoted in these communities because of migration patterns within the country at that time. The way the division of tasks and activities were structured inside the home and outside the home, can be seen as similar to the way it was done in the pre-colonial era of Namibia with remnants’ still visible in the post-colonial era of today.

Men and women in this era had a set gender division of labour within their community. This was done using a set of traditional customs on how they viewed men and women’s roles within their society. According to Haviland (1993), in the pre-colonial period there existed familial subsistence economies, specifically in crop growing communities. In these communities, women provided the primary source of labour, and their fertility also ensured that there was a future labour supply. From this statement it could be assumed that women’s labour and fertility was strictly controlled within this period. This reflects strongly on Marx and Engels’ discussion earlier in this chapter. This is an indication of the gender relations between men and women. Although women worked in the fields, this was considered part of their reproductive labour. “In the subsistence economy, the private-public dichotomy and the distinction between productive and reproductive labour was blurred because the family was both the unit of production and reproduction.

The division of labour depended on the dominant mode of the subsistence and the cultural traditions of different ethnic groups”, (Jauch, Edwards, and Cupido, 2009, p. 182). Clearly the family unit played the central role in the productive labour and the subsistence farming of the family. There was no clear distinction and as mentioned above, working in the fields was seen as part of women’s reproductive labour.

Nothing was ever set apart for women. It was seen as their duty in their culture to farm and also take care of the home. Jauch, Edwards and Cupido (2009) further state that men commanded the labour of the women, controlled the social surplus which was produced primarily by female labour, and also controlled women’s sexuality and their fertility. Supporting Haviland’s statement, Jauch, Edwards and Cupido explain clearly how men had control over women during this period. This goes to show that women had little power even when it came to their own bodies; patriarchy was strongly rooted within Namibian society during the pre-colonial era. Men had the upper hand in the power struggle and so made all the decisions for women without consulting them; further enforcing this claim is how women were treated within society. A woman was granted almost no power in deciding her life. Only a man could decide for her. “A woman in pre-colonial Africa generally lacked all formal capacities; she was not allowed to sue for divorce or for the guardianship of her children; she would not be entitled to hold or dispose of property; she would not approach a court unassisted, and she might not have a say in the government of her own community”, (Bennett, 1993).

Thus, women had little power within their community and were in the total control of their husbands and the men of their community. They had no decision-making power and even though they had to take care of the home they had no legal or ownership power. According to Guy (1990) and Koopman (1995), the practice of the payment of bride wealth 'lobola', which was in the form of cattle, was an exchange relationship between the woman's male relatives and her husband for him to have control over her labour and fertility. By looking at this statement, it indicates women were viewed as property, nothing more! The fact that the husband paid for her gave him power over her and her labour. This was a very common practice in Namibia during the pre-colonial era as it was engrained into the traditional practices of the Namibian people. By doing this the men took away any power women might have had in decision-making over their bodies and their labour. Women were expected to follow all the commands of their husbands without complaint.

In this situation a woman had no decision-making power when it came to her children even though she was the one who had to take care of them, while her husband did not see it as his duty to care for children but only decide upon their financial situation. Women were limited in all areas of their lives, especially the rural women when it came to decision-making and the division of roles and responsibilities within their home. In the pre-colonial era the situation between men and women greatly disadvantaged women. By comparing this to the colonial period, it makes it possible to observe changes for women once Namibia was colonised, or did it remain the same?

2.6.2. Colonial period in Namibia

The colonial period of Namibia was the time when white settlers came to the country to colonise it for their own benefit. This was a period of great changes within the country. These changes affected the gender relations between men and women. It is also necessary to compare these changes to the pre-colonial period as it reflects how big these changes were or how little they were.

Greiner (2009) argues that the colonial period was a time filled with colonial wars, land dispossession, and the white settlers' actions to gain control and to exploit the native labour force which was freely available at that time. The natives at the time did not know much about organised labour structures as they were mainly agricultural farmers and livestock farmers with some being nomads at the time.

With the colonisation of Namibia by the white settlers, there came the distinction of productive and reproductive labour as there was not much of a distinction before this time. Although these white settlers came to gain control over the Namibian people, they also reinforced the pre-colonial gender power relations between men and women. According to Lovett (1989) social control of the people necessitates maintaining, and thus also strengthening, the social relations of power and privilege on which the pre-colonial societies were constructed.

The state which was controlled by the white settlers, viewed the continuing integrity of these hierarchies of authority as a vital part of ensuring the maintaining of social order and stability on which the colonial rulers' security depended. They reinforced these gender relations in order to maintain their control over the natives of the country. This is an important point in understanding that the power relations did not change between men and women once Namibia was colonised.

Since the pre-colonial period men have always been in charge and have thus maintained their power over women in the colonial period. This was also then reinforced by the very colonisers who saw it as an opportunity to maintain their power over the local people. Concluding from Lovett's assessment, there was no change within the power relations between men and women and thus ultimately also the gender division of labour.

With the apartheid regime in the colonial period, black Namibians were disadvantaged when it came to accessing quality jobs, and were instead only able to access physical labour jobs and so be used by the white settlers. With this came the land grabbing by the white settlers. Many Namibian farmers lost their land and only gained access to it if they worked for the white settlers. "The disposed homeland population was thus forced to send part of their male working force into wage labour to urban industrial areas and into mines. The predominantly male African workforce, often recruited on exploitative contracts, was temporarily living in compounds and townships.

Women, however, stayed behind in the impoverished rural homelands where they took care of subsistence farms and the reproductive needs of the migrants, depending on their remittances.” (Greiner, 2009). This indicates that there was a strong traditional gender division of labour, with men and women automatically knowing that it is the men who had to go out and work, while the women stayed home to take care of the family.

The men deemed it their duty to provide financially for their families and always tried to gain employment within the contract labour system, even though their families mainly lived in impoverished situations. One could assume that women did not mainly benefit from the contract labour system, and men as well were controlled by the employers, and had little say or no say in the way they were treated and paid and kept away from their families. Although some women did work outside the home, they were limited to the types of jobs they had, for example, only as a domestic worker or as a subsistence farmer. From the body of literature reviewed it could be concluded, that the pre-colonial and colonial period was a time when there existed little or no gender equality in Namibian society, with men making all the decisions about the home and who does what activities in the home. Women were responsible for all reproductive tasks in the home and did not expect any help from their husbands. This has changed dramatically.; However, there still exists this element of socialisation where women are still taught to obey their husbands.

2.6.3. Post-colonial era of gender division of labour in Namibia

The post-colonial period came after the independence of the country when Namibia finally broke free from its colonisers. By examining this period in which we are in currently, we will be able to identify whether remnants from the pre-colonial and colonial period remained regarding the gender division of labour and the gender relations of men and women. According to Becker (n.d., p.186) “Namibian women have gained considerable power and visibility in the country’s post-colonial society and politics”. This is an important statement by Becker showing that with the liberation struggle of Namibia, women were not pushed into the background, but they became more active and visible within Namibian society.

Becker (n.d.), further explains that before independence, although there were very few exceptions, Namibian women were confined to the occupations of domestic workers, subsistence farmers, secretarial/clerical jobs; and now with the return of well-trained former exiles to the country, this led to a rapid feminisation of a broad range of jobs and professions. After the liberation struggle women were able to gain entrance into other professions. They had, however, only limited options of the type of jobs they could access. Namibian women thus broke away from the expected role they occupied in the pre-colonial and colonial period of Namibia. This shows a shift in the power relations and gender division of labour. However, the shift in the gender division of labour was not a big one as the findings of this research has shown. This will be discussed later.

According to the African Development Bank's (2006) *Republic of Namibia: Country Gender Profile*, at the time of independence, many women who returned from exile had difficulties being accepted by their families as well as their men, due to the fact that they have diverted from traditional gender roles. They were thought to have turned into what was considered at the time as "quasi men" in a society which has returned to traditional pre-struggle values. This was a step back for women who had gained power through the liberation struggle of the country. Indicating that although there was progress towards gender equality within the country, the different cultural communities in the country returned to the past traditions as they saw it as part of their culture and identity.

This indicates that cultural practices and traditions play an important role within Namibian society. Cultural practices since the pre-colonial period and also today still play an important role in the gender relations and the maintaining of patriarchal rule in the country. These practices also enforce and maintain the gender division of labour, as it is through these practices that young girls and boys are taught their expected gender roles.

2.7. Cultural practices

This section intends to explore how cultural beliefs and practices are used to enforce the sexual division of labour. The socialisation of how men and women view their gender roles has to do with how femininity and masculinity is viewed in society.

In a country like Namibia, there are strong traditional and cultural practices which dominate the lives of many men and women. They have to conform to these norms, values and practices in order to be part of their community. In order to understand how these cultural practices are linked to the gender division of labour and the triple burden of women, an examination is required.

Geisler (1997) argues that in some cross-cultural surveys, 50 to 60% of society's girls are initiated compared to the 30 to 40% of boys that are being initiated. This clearly reveals that most cultural practices are aimed at girls and not boys. This could be seen as an element of control over the girls in society. It will be of note for future research to discover why this discrepancy in the initiation of boys and girls exists. This could be linked to the gender relations between men and women. Essortment (n.d.) states that life in Africa mainly revolved around the family and that female initiation ceremonies heavily focused on preparing young girls to be good wives and excellent mothers. There was logic for these societies behind initiation ceremonies for young girls as they thought it important for girls to fulfil these roles.

According to Hango-Rummukainen (1999) the view of gender by many researchers refers to the socially and culturally constructed norms, values, attitudes, beliefs, roles and responsibilities that men and women are expected to fulfil and occupy. This greatly influences the gender division of labour as girls are predominantly taught household chores during these initiation practices.

It is important to understand that these practices are socially and culturally constructed and not biologically engrained. It must be understood that it is society's views on what a man and a woman should do in their community. In support of this view, some other Namibian authors have more insight on the notion that girls are taught to be responsible for household chores through cultural practices. According to Iipinge and Lebeau (2005, p.36), in the majority of the cultural communities in Namibia, women are usually responsible for household chores and have no decision-making power in the home or in the community. Women are viewed as minors within their community and are under the authority and guidance of men. This is an indication that women are held in little regard within these communities as they are viewed no less than children by the men who must act for them.

This statement by Iipinge and Lebeau (2005, p.35) further emphasises this point when they state that, "The Herero define a woman as "the mother of the nation" emphasising her reproductive roles. The Nama, like the Herero emphasise the woman's reproductive role; "mother creator" and sister. The Damara on the other hand, elevate woman's role of housekeeping; "keeper of the house", and "keeper of the cooking fire". All these cultures emphasise the importance of the woman's place in the reproductive role. They see her as a mother and housekeeper, thus showing it is her place according to their culture. This emphasis on the household role is an important factor in understanding the cultural dynamics of the gender division of labour, namely that cultural practices and ideology determine women's activities.

Ipinge and Lebeau are some of the Namibian authors who have like Hango and Rummukainen, given us an insight into the view of the Namibian gender division of labour in some cultures. By taking their insights we will be able to compare the Rehoboth experience to other known cultures when it comes to the gender division of labour.

As the research did not come across existing literature on initiation practices of girls in the Rehoboth area, examining and comparing the cultural practices of other tribes in Namibia were needed. Thus, by doing this it will reveal if elements of these practices are similar to how women are treated in the Rehoboth area based on the findings. The belief is held that in all cultures the girls are taught their household chores from a young age by older women within the community. Let us now turn to some of these practices and identify how they influence the power relations between men and women and the division of labour.

2.7.1. Owambo culture: *Efundula*

In '*Efundula and History: Female initiation in Pre-Colonial and Colonial Northern Namibia*' Patricia Hayes discusses how women are initiated into womanhood. According to Hayes (n.d.), in the Kwanyama region of Owambo, northern Namibia, the *Efundula* is the oshiKwanyama term which is given to the female initiation rite. This rite is where young women were expected to succeed. In other areas of Owambo this rite was called *ohango*.

This was strictly an initiation rite for women. As was discovered, many of these cultural practices are only focused on women and allowing men to have power over them. “The ritual dealt with the transition between girlhood and womanhood in Owambo societies on the northern floodplain”, (Hayes, n.d.). This was a ritual which indicated that a girl moved into womanhood and was then ready for marriage. As it dates back to the pre-colonial and colonial period of Namibia it is identified as a strong cultural practice with deep roots in the Owambo community.

Hayes (n.d.) further discusses that each and every woman who had reached puberty was a participant in the ritual. There were also many women who were bespoken as brides, who would be claimed by husbands approved by their families at their successful completion of every stage of *efundula*. It was a complex and elaborate ceremony which these young women had to take part in, in order to be eligible for marriage.

Becker (2004) explains that the Owambo women’s initiation was foremost a rite of social maturation. The initiates or ‘denominated brides’ (also known as *aafuko* in oshiNdonga, and *ovafuko* in oshiKwanyama), were publicly transformed into adults and finally completed the ceremony with the customary attributes of their new status. This was a way of socialising women into their expected gender roles as wives and mothers. When examining these practices, one must view them with the understanding that they were socialisation processes for women based on their biological sex.

“What is most important, after having passed through the ceremony a young woman could give birth legitimately, because she was regarded as a married woman (oshiNonga: *omukulukadhbi*; oshiKwanyama: *omukadi*) even if she did not have a husband immediately thereafter” (Becker, 2004, p.40). This is an important statement by Becker showing that this initiation rite gave women status in the community which they did not have before the initiation. However, this status is only limited to being a mother and a wife. Therefore, what is important to take from this is that it does influence the gender relations between men and women, giving men an upper hand even though this rite gives women status.

According to Davies (1987), *efundula* was a platform which provided a context for teaching and instructing young girls. The rites and stages of this initiation practice expressed a reverberation of the social knowledge on what the appropriate gender roles are in their society. This only reinforces that this initiation rite is used to socialise Owambo girls into what is seen as appropriate feminine roles. They are taught within this rite what is expected of them and how a proper wife and mother should behave. This could be linked to the productive and reproductive roles they must occupy. As in pre-colonial and colonial Namibia, the lines between these two roles were blurred.

These practices still exist in many Owambo communities within the northern parts of Namibia. As this is one of Namibia’s most common cultural practices, the researcher will now focus on practices within other ethnic groups in order to determine if there is a similar idea behind them.

2.7.2. Ovahimba culture: *Female circumcision*

The Ovahimba community in Namibia is a tribe with strong cultural ties and traditions which they adhere to. Looking at their cultural practices, we will see clearly that they have set gender roles and expectations of men and women. When it comes to the labour, Gaoes (2015) maintains that some of the women's responsibilities in the home include milking cows, building houses, collecting firewood and sometimes also herding cattle. Also included in their household tasks are cooking and serving meals as well as making clothing and jewellery to be sold.

Gaoes (2015) further explains that the men's tasks include decision-making, looking after livestock, herding cattle, slaughter animals and also doing construction work around the homestead. There are clearly defined gender roles within the Ovahimba culture and so the men and women are socialised to conform to these expected gender tasks as the case might be. Women's power in regards to these tasks is clearly absent as decision-making is not part of it and that they must leave every decision to the men. According to Gaoes (2015) in the Ovahimba culture the men are seen as being superior, thus when a man sends a woman to do something she has to be submissive towards him.

This is done even though the Ovahimba women travel to Windhoek and other towns to earn money for their families and do most of the labour at home both inside and outside the home. Here we see that the gender division of labour does influence the power relations between men and women within the Ovahimba community.

Linking this to the cultural practices, we see the important role these cultural practices play in the division of labour of the Ovahimba's.

One cultural practice that is still alive, but fading, and not necessarily discussed in the literature, is female circumcision. This is still practised among the Ovahimba and is considered an important rite of passage for young girls. Essortment (n.d.) elaborates that a Himba young girl is not considered suitable for marriage unless she undergoes the circumcision ceremony. This ceremony is usually attended by the female family members of the girl, and it takes place in an isolated room in their home or outside in the countryside. Essortment (n.d.) further explains that an elderly matron of the community cuts off the girl's clitoris using a razor blade. This ceremony is often also called female genital mutilation and is condemned by people across the world for its dangers to the young girl. However, African tribes who do practise it insist that it promotes chastity among the females of their tribe, and plays a central part in a young girl's initiation rite into entering adulthood. Although there is no evidence of this, they see it as necessary when teaching young girls their social responsibilities.

This practice can be seen as only a means of maintaining control over the lives and bodies of young Ovahimba girls and then their lives as young married women. There is no freedom for them to make decisions on their own as they must submit to this practice and later to their husbands as discussed above. This cruel practice enforces the gender power relations as well as gender roles which young women must willingly submit to.

Compared to *efundula*, although the two practices are different, their aim is to make sure that young girls know and understand their roles as mothers and wives. Both practices encourage women's submission to men and to cultural expectations as well as to enforce these practices on future generations. This has a direct bearing on the gender division of labour. So far these practices only benefit men and not women. The study will now look to another cultural practice in a different community and see whether it also put women at a disadvantage.

2.7.3. Initiation of males and females in the Zambezi region

Initiation rites in the Zambezi are a very secretive affair with many people denying that they are being practised at all. As we looked at girls' initiation practices in the Owambo and Ovahimba tribes, we will now also look at both boys and girls' initiation practices in the Zambezi. It will transpire that a boy's virility exemplifies strength and that determines their distinct labour responsibilities, while for girls initiation inculcates submissiveness in their roles.

2.7.4. Male initiation

According to Masule (1999) initiation of boys occur when certain bodily changes take place such as the deepening of the voice, appearance of body hair and a sexual awareness of the opposite sex. When this happens, the boy is then brought into the male circle of adult men and taught life skills such as hunting, tending fields, fishing, and how a husband should behave. Masule (1999) further explains that during the initiation process the boy is also tested for virility.

One test for this is the water test: the initiate is taken to a clear water spot where he is expected to masturbate. When he ejaculates his sperm must sink to the bottom and when this happens, he is considered to be a strong, virile man, if this does not happen and his sperm floats and loosens on the surface he must be treated for his weakness.

This strong attachment to the importance of a man's virility shows that it is important to be considered sexually strong as a man. It can be concluded from this that this gives the man power within the community and his home. It implies that he is able to reproduce children and take care of his family if he is considered very virile. If young boys are told this, they will assert their power over their wives once they are married, and so use this as a tool of power and decision-making. Below focuses on the female initiation which is also focused mainly on the sexual aspect of the girl's body.

2.7.5. Female initiation

Masule (1999) goes on to explain that when a girl in the Zambezi region reaches puberty and has her first menstrual cycle she has her initiation ritual. When this happens, the girl goes into hiding. She does this because the menstrual flow is considered 'unclean' among this community. During this time, when nightfall comes, women of the homestead will go into the woods and look for the girl and bring her to her mother's or grandmother's home making sure no man sees her. Masule then goes on to say that she hides in the house for a full month and the only visitors she gets are her tutors and initiated women.

Masule (1999, p.29), further explains that a girls' initiation course deals with issues of sex education, female hygiene, traditional gynecological medicines, and social graces. She is also taught how to endure pain such as physical beating. This is done so that the girl will know not to talk back to her husband regarding any rough treatment such as physical abuse. Considering that both boys and girls go through initiation in the Zambezi region, it can be concluded that girls' initiation is more severe than the boys'. The fact that girls are taught in their initiation process to expect physical abuse from their husbands shows that it is a common occurrence in that community. This clearly indicates that the husband holds the power to make the decisions in the home and she has no right to talk back or make decisions.

This translates over to the gender division of labour since the boys are taught how husbands should behave and what chores they do and the girls are taught how to be good wives. The girls are taught their gender roles and their chores during their initiation rite and they must accept this as the norm.

2.8. Rehoboth: A brief history

In the Rehoboth constituency, there are no such cultural practices as identified during the review of key literature. The absence of such practices in the Rehoboth area, however, does not suggest the non-prevalence of strong power relations and patriarchy as well as a definite gender division of labour within that community.

One of the most significant characteristics of Rehoboth as a community is their very strong attachment with history. This linkage was extremely important in the selection of tools by the researcher in order to shed light on the gender division of labour within that community. A key historical point of reference for this community, was the adoption of what is known as the “Voorvaderlike Wette” (Ancestral Laws) or *Statutes of the Rehoboth Basters by Resolution of the Kaptein and his Councillors in the Year 1872*. This document, compiled by the Kaptein at the time, H. Van Wyk, and his councillors, P. Diergaard, J. Van Wyk and speaker of the Volksraad Mechiel Diergaard, outlines how Rehoboth as a community ought to be structured.

The language of this document, being gender biased, portrays a strong patriarchal identity. While this was the foundational document of the Baster people, the patriarchal mindset is still evident today, but now influencing gender dynamics across the whole diverse community of Rehoboth.

Evidence of this application of language is found in Van Wyk, Diergaard, Van Wyk, & Diergaard (1872, p.1) “As supreme Ruler of the citizens is chosen and appointed one from their midst as Kaptein, who shall then fulfil his office during his lifetime unless he is prevented from so doing by illness or other exigencies”. With just this one statement, the patriarchal ideology becomes apparent. Only males were eligible to rule the community. In so doing, women’s access to leadership, decision-making even at the level of community service, was restricted.

Throughout these Statutes or “Voorvaderlike Wette”, a male-centredness is noticed, suggesting that women lacked importance within the community. Even with regard to citizenship, there is a male-centredness. The Statutes state, “Each person wishing to become a citizen, shall present himself to the Kaptein, who shall inform him regarding the laws. If he is prepared to comply with the laws and if he is well known, he will be adopted as citizen by the Kaptein...” (Van Wyk, et al., 1872, p.2). The use of only “he” in this statement indicates that Rehoboth has a strong patriarchal view and that men took precedence over women in becoming citizens at that time. Men were viewed as being important in the community, thus reducing women to second-class citizens.

Evidently, this also determines the type of preferential relationship men had to the leader, known as the “Kaptein”. This male-centred view has changed to some degree in the context of the current community. What the research of this thesis has proven, is that women are now part of the leadership and decision-making structures of the community, although still to a limited extent.

Apart from this strong political past, Rehoboth is also greatly influenced by religion. According to Zandberg (2009), a report released in 2005 by the Rehoboth Council, revealed that there are approximately 70 different churches in the town. This is considerable for a population of only 40 000 people.

Religion plays an important role within the Rehoboth community’s identity. Zandberg (2009) further explains that Christianity was considered one of the pillars of the historical Baster identity, and this identity was carried through to the present.

Rehoboth is seen as a community of mainly people of Baster ethnic origin; however, there are also other ethnic groups in the community, particularly people from the Damara and Nama communities. All of these can be seen as influencing the modern community of Rehoboth as women are still expected to do most of the housework, while men are seen outside the home performing community services and providing for their families.

Now that there was an examination of the different theories and practices surrounding gender relations and the gender division of labour, a tool is needed to do a gender analysis of the activities in the Rehoboth constituency.

The tool that is ideal for analyzing the productive labour, reproductive labour and community service of the Rehoboth community is the Harvard Analytical Framework. This tool mainly looks at the different activities of men and women in a community and also contributing factors using different profiles.

2.9. Harvard analytical framework

2.9.1. Background of the Harvard analytical framework

The Harvard Analytical Framework will be used to analyse women and men's activities and their roles in them. "The Harvard Analytical Framework is often referred to as the Gender Roles Framework or Gender Analysis Framework", (March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay, 1999, p.32).

By focusing on the specific gender aspects of activities, the researcher is able to identify the tasks men and women do and how the division of these tasks are done. Therefore, it is a gender specific tool in identifying and analysing the activities of men and women. March, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay (1999) outline the Harvard Analytical Framework as an instrument that is used to measure women's and men's activities in a community, by measuring who does what activities and how much time they spend on those activities. It looks at how the division of labour is based on sex and not on ability to perform a task. It is used at the micro-level or family level and it identifies the productive and reproductive activities.

The Harvard Analytical Framework is used at both international and national levels to identify trends of gender division of labour, and time allocation between tasks and responsibilities. Through the use of this instrument the researcher can look at and discover the power relations between men and women, and who makes the decisions regarding the division of tasks.

According to the Royal Tropical Institute (1996) The Harvard Analytical Framework was developed by the Harvard Institute for International development in co-operation with the WID office of USAID, and is thus based on the WID efficiency approach in the development of communities. It is ideal to be used in projects specific to agricultural and rural based areas, and for adopting sustainable livelihood approaches to poverty reduction.

This framework is aimed at improving the lives of the community it is used in, and developing projects with an aim at long-term development and reducing inequality between men and women. However, for the purposes of this study, the Harvard Analytical Framework will be used as an analysis tool to explore the gender division of labour of the Rehoboth community. By using this tool, the researcher is able to clearly see any gender lines when it comes to dividing up tasks in this community under study.

The Royal Tropical Institute (1996) further outlines that the Harvard Analytical Framework is also useful in exploring the dual relationship between productive and reproductive labour, especially with groups of individuals that have very limited experience in identifying and analysing differences between men and women. It is designed as a grid for the collection of data at the micro-level, which is at the family level. Therefore, this framework is ideal for looking at the division of labour, and who does what when it comes to productive and reproductive labour both inside and outside the home.

It could also look at the community activities outside the home, whether there is equal participation between men and women in all three spheres of the community. It identifies the unequal division of labour between men and women, which is the case in many societies. It also aims to reveal who benefits most from the unpaid reproductive labour of women in the home; as it is there where the bulk of the labour is done to sustain the home and the family members.

2.9.2. Aims of the Harvard analytical framework:

According to the Royal Tropical Institute (1996) the aims of the Harvard Analytical Framework are:

- To show that there is an economic motivation for investing in both women and men.
- To help planners design more efficient projects as well as improving overall productivity.
- To highlight the importance of providing better information as a basis for meeting the efficiency/equity goal.
- To chart the work of men and women in a community and also highlight the key differences in their work.

These aims give understanding of how the framework works and the importance of it; as it aims to highlight the differences between men and women and so highlight the allocation of resources. Thus, it is ideal to understand the gender and power relations between men and women in any community where the framework is being applied. Only by understanding how these gender and power relations operate within the community under examination will we be able to understand the gender division of labour. Thus, the framework also reveals who has the power in deciding who does what and how much time is spent on an activity.

The features of the framework indicate the structure of the framework, and what the planners and gender analyst aim to look at when using this specific gender analysis tool.

2.9.3. Features:

As discussed by the Royal Tropical Institute (1996, p.A-19), “The framework consists of a matrix for collecting data at the micro-(community and household) level. It has four interrelated components”:

- The **activity profile**, answers the question of “who does what?” This includes gender, age, time spent as well as the location of the activity;
- The **access and control profile**. This defines all the resources used to conduct the work which was identified in the activity profile, and the access and control over the use of these resources by gender;
- The **analysis of influencing factors**. This maps all factors which influence gender differences in the above mentioned two profiles;
- The **project cycle analysis**. This examines a project or an intervention used in light of any gender-disaggregated information presented.

These features are what the analysts and planners look at when looking at a community for the implementation of a project.

Not only are they ideal for this specific reason; they are also ideal for looking at the reproductive, productive and community roles of men and women; to identify who fulfil which roles and to what extent they fulfil these roles. It also looks at the allocation of resources which is important for looking at power relations, and women have limited access to resources in all three roles they occupy. Men benefit more from the allocation of resources, and thus are able to control women's labour and access, and benefit from the labour especially within the reproductive role women occupy. The Harvard Analytical Framework measures equality and empowerment for women when it comes to the division of labour.

According to International Development Group Development Strategy and Effectiveness (2012) when defining gender equality and women's needs across varying cultures, the gender analysis used must show sensitivity towards women's situation. Cultures are dynamic, always adapting to any internal and external pressure, and this includes women stating their needs and rights in their community.

The cultural beliefs and practices of a community are barriers to equality between the sexes, and building on the voices and the efforts of the women is a crucial part of women's empowerment in that community. IDG DSE (2012) further argues that, culture must not be used as a justification to avoid transforming and eliminating inequalities and power relations that affect women, their families and also the society they reside in. They can also be barriers to men who wish to take up other roles and/or advocate an increase in equality and women's empowerment.

As the gender division of labour and the triple burden of the gender roles have on women are culturally constructed, this framework is ideal to examine the cultural division of these roles and how they affect women's empowerment. By using the Harvard Analytical Framework to analyse the activities of men and women, we will be able to better understand the gender division of labour, and shed light on the power relations between men and women in the community under study.

Using the Framework will also improve women's efforts for empowerment, giving them decision-making power when it comes to dividing up activities in all three roles they occupy. Although the aims and features of the Harvard Analytical Framework indicate what the framework is about and how we should use it, a researcher should also know the strengths and weaknesses of the Harvard Analytical Framework or Gender Analysis Framework.

All gender development tools for measuring women's and men's activities in a community have got their own strengths and weaknesses. These will ensure whether a tool is the best fit for examining a certain community or cultural aspects of that community.

2.9.4. Strengths

The strengths of the Harvard Analytical Framework are linked to the idea of making women more involved within their community; and any other community programmes or projects which are implemented within this community.

It is ideal for identifying the efficiency of women in any project or programme, or how an equal division of labour will ensure that women do not carry the burden of doing most of the labour.

It looks at how it can improve the situation for both men and women by involving both groups in any programme or project. Clearly, there is an economic element in the Harvard Framework, however, it can also be used to just look at and identify women's and men's division of labour and time allocation as a resource.

Pittman (2011) outlines the following strengths of the Harvard Analytical Framework:

- The Gender Roles Framework is a useful tool for charting and identifying the gendered division of labour in a community as well as access and control over resources.
- The visual charting process is also useful for getting a diverse group of stakeholders on the same page.
- Gender is a central and important part of the analysis process, which is frequently missing in other development planning programme assessment tools and approaches which are sometimes used.

- This analysis highlights the need for gender disaggregation in measuring programme impact, to help identify any differential outcomes for men and women who are part of the same programme intervention. This is combined with an in-depth analysis of the access and control of resources, inferring, to some degree, why there are gender differences in existence.

These strengths show the validity of the Harvard Analytical Framework as a tool for measuring women and men's activities within in a community when there is a need for a programme or project implementation.

These strengths can also highlight the gender socialisation of the gender division of labour by indicating that who does what activities within the community, and how resources are divided up based on the gender aspects of the community under study. However, there also exist limitations in the Harvard Analytical Framework, which cannot be ignored, and must be taken into consideration when using this framework for any study or project.

2.9.5. Weaknesses

The weaknesses of this framework can also be used to show that the framework was not designed for certain projects or programmes. This is an important distinction as all frameworks are only designed to be used in certain situations.

According to Pittman (2011) while the Harvard Analytical Framework or the Gender Analysis Framework is on gender awareness, and it highlights or brings out the visible differences between men's and women's labour, it, however, does not analyse the root causes of gender inequality and power imbalances.

Pittman (2011) outlines the following weaknesses or limitations of the Harvard Analytical Framework:

- Although the gender analysis is central, identifying the main sources of power or social inequities is not a primary focus. This is a limitation in the ability to develop a strategic or targeted initiative, which can be designed to decrease inequalities or increase the access to power.
- The stakeholder participation in the process of defining the analysis is not fully evolved or encouraged, thus restricting grassroots' input.
- Frequently the analysis can lean towards the economic rather than focusing on the broader equality issue and the gains in women's rights.
- There is no instrument in place for the assessment of pathways of change, which causes a limitation in understanding why a programme intervention works.

According to the Poverty Analysis Monitoring Team, (n.d.) a limitation of the Harvard Analytical Framework is that it was developed from a contemporary concern for women's efficiency in the mid-1980s.

The framework assumes an economic case for looking at the gender needs of a community and that it places less emphasis on an 'equity' ideal; or power relations and the decision-making process for men and women. It oversimplifies or simply ignores the power relationships of men and women, and the social complexity of a community and other inequalities which exist. It also does not address the changes which occur over time, so it needs to be handled by a skilled analyst.

These limitations which Pittman does mention show how the Harvard Analytical Framework can lack efficiency as a tool in areas such as analysing the gender relationships of power, and how men and women are socialised to engage with one another.

This is an important aspect in the analysis process of the triple burden of productive labour, reproductive labour and community service; as power relations and decision-making power is a crucial element to understanding the triple burden. Women are often than not the ones who do not benefit from the division of power, and lack decision-making power as men have all the power. The Harvard Analytical Framework does fail to show this aspect of the gender division of labour.

These weaknesses or limitations show that there is a need to use another gender analysis tool together with the Harvard Analytical Framework. This is done to fully understand the gender dynamics when it comes to the division of labour in a community or a programme implemented in that community.

As mentioned above, the Harvard Analytical Framework might be gender aware, yet it lacks the ability to identify the gender inequalities and the power relations between men and women as they play a significant role in the socialisation process. Men and women are not equal and are socialised as such: women are taught men are in charge and women must follow men's lead. The Harvard Analytical Framework fails to highlight this; therefore, another measuring tool must be used together with it. An ideal tool to be used with the Harvard Analytical Framework or Gender Analysis Framework, is interviews. Interviews can thus shed light on the gender power relations and the gender dynamics of socialisation into the different gender roles that exist in that community.

Interviews can indicate how men and women see themselves within their community. They also show how they view themselves in relation to each other and the labour which they have to perform in order to sustain their families and their communities.

2.9.6. International examples of the use of the Harvard analytical framework

When using the Harvard Analytical Framework, it is important to look at international examples of its use as a measuring tool of gender division of labour in communities, specifically with families as the primary division of labour occurs in the home and moves outside the home.

A good example of a case where the Harvard Analytical Framework was used with success is in Tanzania. According to Khamati-Njenga and Clancy (n.d.) in Tanzania they carried out a gender relations study in Korogwe Village, which was done by the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme. The aim of this study was to raise gender awareness and they looked at the division of activities between men and women. TGNP (1996) explains that women in the study considered cooking as “the most remarkable non-traditional role that could be performed by men”; this was then followed by fetching water and then fetching firewood. The men on the other hand viewed men fetching firewood and drawing water as a significant change in gender roles. This clearly indicates that there are set gender specific activities in these communities and that they are highlighted by the Harvard Analytical Framework.

In order to understand the specific traditional division of labour, it is important to look at examples of the Harvard Analytical Framework in order to understand how to use it. As highlighted by the example above, men and women view specific activities as gender specific due to the way they were socialised in their village.

The Harvard Analytical Framework is also ideal to look at how women are constrained by gender roles in their communities. An ideal example of how the Harvard Analytical Framework was used to look at this was discussed by Bradley (1991), who explains that “[i]n the Kakamega area of Kenya a shortage in fuel wood meant that the women had to walk long distances to collect firewood. This situation inspired a project to encourage the women in the village to plant trees.

The men in the village already planted trees in the surroundings, but these trees were meant to be sold as timber. Project planners visited the area and offered the women seedlings for fast growing trees for firewood to plant in their fields. However, the women refused. They could not plant trees, because women are not allowed to plant trees while their husbands are alive. Their husbands own the land and it would be disrespectful to plant trees on their land. Planting trees is a man's task". This makes it clear that women are constantly constrained by their gender roles and it is difficult for them to diversify their activities because of their socialisation. This example makes it clear that the constraint of gender roles is a problem in many cultures.

Khamati-Njenga and Clancy (n.d.) argue that in this case of Kenya it clearly shows that it is difficult for both men and women to go against the gender roles they have been socialised into within their community. Even though, in this case of the firewood, it would be a relief to women's tasks, the women in this community did not accept planting the trees because they found that it is not appropriate for women within their community.

Only by breaking free from these set traditional gender roles in their communities can women start engaging in other activities within their community, and outside of their community to improve their lives and that of their family. The Harvard Analytical Framework aims to highlight these differences, and to show women and men that they can engage in different activities outside of their set gender roles.

By rather using the Harvard Analytical Framework and not another Framework, for example the Moser Framework or the Longwe Framework, the researcher is able to directly examine the access and control of resources and the division of labour. The Harvard Analytical Framework looks at the gender aspects of tasks and how resources are divided up, identifying if there is equal decision-making power between men and women in deciding who does what tasks. Not only does it look at the division of tasks, but it can also highlight the socialisation patterns of a particular community. As socialisation starts at the family level, the Harvard Analytical Framework measures family level activities.

The Harvard Analytical Framework can easily highlight how men and women are socialised into who performs what tasks in the home and outside the home and who does the majority of the tasks. In many instances this will reveal how women do the majority of the work in the home, while men do the bare minimum as there are attached cultural expectations which are passed on from generation to generation through socialisation.

Girls are taught from a young age how to be good wives and mothers, and boys are taught how to be men and fulfil the responsibilities of men outside of the home. The Harvard Analytical Framework highlights these roles.

2.10. Conclusion

The literature emphasised the strong relations in the gender division of labour. The division of tasks is done mainly on the bases of the socialisation of boys and girls from a young age, based on what is seen as feminine and what is seen as masculine. This is further emphasised by feminist theorists who argue that women are oppressed due to this socialisation process, and patriarchy is maintained and enforced by the community and family. The cultural practices examined within the history and in contemporary Namibia is also a re-enforcing factor. It will be important to link these debates to the gender division of labour within the Rehoboth community to identify whether they support these debates, or whether there are differences in the reality of the gender division of labour.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

The methodology used in any research must be sound and understandable. It must generate the data that are needed to answer the research questions under study. The aim is not to recreate existing research, but to generate new information on a specific research question under study. As part of the research process the researcher must have a sound research design which adheres to all ethical considerations within the research community. The suitable research designs for this specific research are ethnographic as this is a new field of inquiry for this specific community.

3.2. Research design

The methodological process used to conduct this research was qualitative. As this is an ethnographic research the best possible method to collect the data needed was qualitative methods. Since not much is known of the Rehoboth constituency and its residents, it was necessary to go into the population to gather the data. Although there has been research done in this field in some areas of Namibia, Rehoboth is a relatively new area that needs to be studied in order to see if there are similarities in the division of tasks within the productive, reproductive and community services in the area between men and women.

The methods which have been chosen to collect the specific data needed in order to answer the research question, has been chosen because they are the most efficient at collecting the appropriate data for this topic under study. They are in-depth qualitative methods which will be explained below and outlined accordingly. Due to the fact that this is an ethnographic research where the researcher was required to go into the population and observe and gather data, the methods used were efficient and useful.

Hoey (2015) explains that the term ‘ethnography’ has come to be linked with any form of qualitative research where the aim of the research is to provide a detailed, in-depth description of the day to day life and practices of the community under study. This could be referred to as “thick description” which was the aim of this study in order to gather in-depth information about the community and how married men and women divide up tasks in their home.

With the tools chosen to use together, it made it possible for the researcher to gather the intended information and establish the division of labour patterns within the triple burdens. Not much is known about Rehoboth and its community and how the division of labour is done within the households. The use of ethnography as the qualitative method for this research topic was to gather as much information as possible on its people and their views on the gender division of labour. Hoey (2015), further explains that the researcher or “ethnographer” doesn’t merely report events, but goes further than that to the details of an experience. Particularly, he or she goes on to attempt to explain how these represent the cultural constructs in which we live every day.

Thus, the aim of an ethnographic study is to look at the specific cultural constructs of a community. In this instance we are looking at the gender dynamics of the triple burden of productive labour, reproductive labour and community service within the Rehoboth constituency. The aim is to see how these people divide up tasks, the time they spent on tasks each day, and the decision-making power within their relationships. The use of an ethnographic approach will make it possible to gain deep insight into this field.

In order to obtain the specific information needed to understand the gender dynamics of the division of tasks within the triple burden, certain data collection methods were needed and used together. The tools that were chosen were identified because they were the best possible research instruments to be used. Firstly, the participants had to keep an activity journal for two weeks to document their activities within the productive role, reproductive role and community service. This was done in order to identify each participant's activity as they did not always have the same activities as their spouse. Secondly, semi-structured interviews were conducted with each participant in order to gain more insight into their daily activities, and also to identify the gender dynamics and decision-making factors in their relationships. This is one of the important aspects to understand how tasks are divided within the home, and if there is an equal division of labour and participation in the three roles identified for study. And finally, the Harvard Analytical Framework was used to de-code the activities, journals and to identify similarities and differences in tasks between men and women.

This was used to make it clear how tasks are divided up and to see whether there is a sharing of a certain task, or whether one spouse is entirely responsible for certain tasks in the home. With the use of the Harvard Analytical Framework we will also be able to see how many tasks the women have in common, and how much the men have in common as this is more plausible in a qualitative approach. Defining these instruments will make it more understandable as to why they were chosen for this specific topic.

Activity Journal: This is a journal which the participants kept for two weeks in which they recorded all their daily activities in the productive role, reproductive role and community service.

Guide Sheet: This is a sheet attached on the inside of the journal explaining what the different activities are so that they may know what to record in the activity journal.

Semi-structured Interview: According to Mason (2004) semi-structured interviews are characteristically defined as being flexible and have a fluid structure, which is different from structured interviews. The semi-structured interview made use of open-ended questions in order for the researcher to obtain as much information as possible from the men and women. These interviews were recorded using a voice recorder and then transcribed as part of the data analysis process.

Harvard Analytical Framework: The Harvard Analytical Framework was then used to analyse the activity journals to see the differences and make comparisons between the men's and women's activities.

According to March et al. (1999) the goal of the Harvard Analytical Framework is to map out the work and the resources that men and women in any community have and so highlight the core differences. It is designed to be a grid (which is also known as a matrix) for collecting data at the micro-level of society.

Due to the fact that the focus was mainly on married couples in the Rehoboth constituency, the Harvard Analytical Framework was ideal to look at the activities in their homes as this is mainly used at the micro level which is the intended use of this instrument.

3.3. Population and sampling

Population – The targeted population for this research project was the women and men who reside in the Rehoboth constituency, specifically the town of Rehoboth from different ages, social classes and ethnic groups. These men and women were married couples who reside in the different blocks in which Rehoboth is divided. Although the study is not limited to the Baster community in Rehoboth, it is critical to note the impact of what is referred to as “Voorvaderlike Wette” on the community of Rehoboth. As was discussed above, these patriarchal laws played an important part in shaping Rehoboth as a community in modern day Namibia. Therefore, Rehoboth was sampled and chosen due to this unique history that impacts the lives of the community at large. This is an important aspect of Rehoboth that other Namibian communities do not share.

Sampling Strategy – The sampling strategy that was employed was the *nonprobability sampling* technique. The sampling technique that was used was **purposive sampling**, Neuman (2006) argues that it is ideal for selecting hard-to-reach members of the population/community under study. The researcher used the locations the town of Rehoboth is divided into, for example the, 'blocks' as clusters and targeted educated members from the different blocks in the community using the judgment that they will be able to write in the journals. The sample size that was used was 32 participants, 16 men and 16 women. These 16 men and 16 women are 16 married couples. It was easier to work with married couples as they have already set a gender division of labour within their homes.

Due to the fact that the researcher had very limited knowledge of the area and its residents, the researcher made use of a guide who showed the different blocks which Rehoboth is divided into. There are 7 blocks in Rehoboth using the letters A through G as a naming of the blocks and from each block the guide took the researcher to two couples; however, in block D the researcher had to make use of 4 couples in order to make up the sample size. The third and fourth couples who were chosen in block D was chosen at random as block D has a mixture of both affluent members and middle class to low-income residents. The researcher used the assumption that your social class is determined by where you reside in Rehoboth.

By using the blocks of Rehoboth as the clusters, the researcher was able to target the educated members in each block with the help of a guide. Because the researcher was not well informed about Rehoboth, the guide was able to explain how the blocks are divided up and how members in the blocks live.

3.4. Data collection

The whole process of data collection involved two couples in each block and four in block D to reach the needed number of the sample. The couples each had to keep their own activity journal for the duration of two weeks, thus providing a clear picture of the different activities they engage in. As the husband and wife do not have similar activities most of the time, it was important to gather the relevant information in order to gain a clear picture. The activity journals had to be handed out on separate days as there were too many couples to approach in one day.

Those who received their journals on Wednesday, 10 June 2015 had to keep them till 18 June 2015:

Block D: *Richard and *Jane

Those who received their journals on Monday, 22 June 2015 had to keep them till 7 July 2015:

Block A: *Angela and *Rodney, and *Alice and *Jerome

Block D: *Lily and *Andrew, *Suzy and *Lionel, and *Ann and *Roger

Block F: *Lynette and *Frank

Block G: *Silvia and *Peter, and *Simone and *Jeffrey

Those who received their journals on Thursday, 25 June 2015 had to keep them till 10 July 2015:

Block B: *Joan and *Alfred, and *Rose and *George

Block C: *Elizabeth and *Arthur, and *Michelle and *Henry

Block F: *Lisa and *Conrad

Block E: *Arlene and *John, and *Richardene and *Archie

They were required each to keep their own activity journal for two weeks and record their daily activities as such. Although this was the requirement, there is the instance of missing data where one or both did not fill in the journal on the required days. For instance:

*Andrew who is *Lily's husband who lives in Block D did not fill in a single day. Although he agreed, he had no time to do it as he was a very busy man, however, *Lily did fill in all 14 days required. *Arlene and *John who live in Block E also did not keep the activity journals for the fourteen days. *Arlene only kept the journal for four days while, *John her husband only filled in the first day and did not fill in further.

*John explained that as his sister died within the time he had to keep the journal,, he was too emotionally distressed to concentrate on other things other than his sister's funeral arrangements. *Arlene unfortunately gave no indication as to why she only proceeded to fill in four days. *Angela and *Rodney have also not kept the activity journal for the full fourteen days. *Angela only kept it for seven days and *Rodney only for ten days with *Angela explaining that the running of their business kept them too busy to keep the journal. *Richard and *Jane only made entries for seven days as they had to tend to family emergencies. *Silvia and *Peter have also not kept it for the fourteen days with *Silvia only keeping the journal for eleven days and *Peter only for nine days both explaining that their activities during that time were too time consuming and therefore, they forgot about the fourteen days.

These are some of the missing data that was discovered during the course of the field work and data collection. With the interviews we see that with both *Alfred and *John the researcher made the mistake of missing one question with each, thus, those answers are missing. Any research is at risk of missing data and this one is no different, we do find where couples have kept the journal for fifteen days. Giving extra data, *Alice and *Jerome, *Michelle and *Henry, *Lynette and *Frank, *Rose and *George, *Richardene and *Archie and *Lisa and *Conrad are all the couples who have kept the activity journals for fifteen days. However, even those participants who fell short of the fourteen days, provided sufficient information through their entries, to deduce intelligible and informative conclusions relevant to the study.

In other instances, the researcher found that one of the two kept the journal for sixteen days for instances *Joan kept it for sixteen days while *Alfred kept his activity journal for fifteen days. Another couple who has kept the journal for different days is *Elizabeth and *Arthur with *Elizabeth keeping it for fifteen days and *Arthur for the required fourteen days. This generates extra data for the researcher and must not be left out in the data analysis process.

The extra data cannot be used to fill the gaps of the missing data as each participant has their own set of activities, but this does not, however, make it impossible to compare and contrast the activities of the men and women.

Once the activity journals were completed, the researcher proceeded to conduct the interviews. Couples were interviewed on different days and times according to their availability. This was especially difficult to do as not all couples were available at their scheduled times, with many of the couples being preoccupied with either church activities or funerals of family members or other activities in their community. However, in the end the researcher was able to reach all the couples and do the necessary interviews to gather the information required. Those participants who did not keep and complete the activity journals did participate in the interviews and provided their information accordingly. These interviews were captured on a tape recorder by the researcher for better analysis. All interviews were conducted with the participants' full and informed verbal consent.

3.4.1. Data analysis

Since activity journals were chosen as an instrument of data collection to be used together with a guide sheet explaining what needs to be recorded, the researcher had to use a tool that is specific to analyzing and comparing the activities of the men and women, namely the Harvard Analytical Framework was the ideal tool.

The Harvard Analytical Framework or Gender Analysis Framework as it is also called was only used to analyze the women and men's activities as they were described in the activity journals. The activities in the journals were categorised based on the Harvard Analytical Framework, and recorded as such.

The researcher was able to see if there are any overlapping activities between men and women as well as identifying gender specific activities. This will make it easy to compare activities based on gender and age group as the ideal is that the gender division of labour changes from generation to generation. Different age groups of men and women were chosen so as to produce data where comparisons, similarities and differences in activities can be identified and observed. By using the Harvard Analytical Framework as a tool of data analysis, the researcher was able to develop research questions for semi-structured in-depth interviews to build on the activity journals.

These interviews which were recorded have been transcribed and those which have been conducted in Afrikaans have been translated into English for the understanding of the researcher.

Together with the Harvard Analytical Framework, which was used to decode the activity journals, the interviews were used to do a gender analysis of the productive roles, reproductive roles and community service which showed the similarities and differences between activities for men and women and highlighted the gender division of labour.

By making comparisons, the researcher observed trends emerging and how the gender division of labour has in some cases remained the same and in others differed. Thus, with the combining of these different data collection tools the researcher has discovered to what extent men are involved in reproductive activities.

3.5. Reliability and validity

With any study it is important to establish the reliability and validity of the instruments that were used as well as the findings of the study. This study is no different, and as a number of tools were used together, it is essential to look at the reliability and validity of each tool enforcing the reliability and validity of the findings.

This study looked to establish face validity of the instruments the activity journals, the guide sheets, the Harvard Analytical Framework and the semi-structured interviews. According to Neuman (2006) **Face validity** is when the indicator used by the researcher “makes sense” as a measurement of the construct under study using the judgement of others, specifically within the scientific community.

By examining the instruments that were used, the validity of the findings could be established. The activity journals which were used to give a clear and accurate view of the participant's activities, measured what they were meant to measure. Through the use of a guide sheet the activity journal will measure exactly what it is supposed to measure, thereby establishing the validity of the instrument.

Thus, it was established that the activity journal is a valid tool for measuring the activities of men and women when doing a gender analysis of the activities in a given community. As there is no known literature available to the researcher, the activity journal as a tool for measurement, was necessary to combine the activity journal with a secondary instrument which indicates what needs to be recorded in the journal.

These journals were also further verified by in-depth semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. As the method of semi-structured interviews has international validity as a measuring tool, it was able to built upon the activity journals by going in-depth with the participants. The use of these interviews has shown how the division of labour is done within the couple's home, and how they cope with their different activities. They also provide information on the decision-making aspect of the relationship, showing how decisions are made about issues regarding dividing up tasks and other matters. They also highlighted how religion plays an important part in the everyday life of some of these couples, thus enforcing the validity of the activity journal as a measuring tool.

Examining the validity of the Harvard Analytical Framework as a tool for decoding the journals in order to analyse them, it has its validity proven within the international community. Its validity was established by scholars in the field of gender studies looking to understand the gender division of labour at the family level, therefore, it was ideal for use in this instance, as the study was focused at the micro level of analysis of the triple burden of productive labour, reproductive labour and community service.

It is an ideal tool for doing a gender analysis of men and women's activities and so has its validity by measuring exactly what it says it will. Validity was not all the researcher aimed for but also the reliability of the data that has been collected in the field.

According to Neuman (2011), reliability is achieved when a study produces dependability and consistency in its results. The reliability of the data that was collected was reinforced by the multitude of instruments that the researcher has utilised. Each instrument makes it possible to rely on the findings that were produced. By looking at the findings, it was revealed that an accurate gender analysis of the triple burden was made in the Rehoboth constituency of the couples that were chosen for participation in the current study.

3.6. Participants' experience and self-reflection

The experience of the participants in the study can be seen as a success as all were willing to participate when approached. Although there were instances when some did not fill in their activities, they were, however, most willing to take part in the interview portion of the data collection process.

The participants found that the research was an-eye opener to their own activities and the division of tasks within their home, some adding that it is a reflection of their daily activities. The women especially were more willing to participate. Some men like *Conrad and *Henry saw this as an opportunity to see how they could divide tasks and where they can help their wives. The participants also saw it as beneficial for looking at the amount of time they spend on an activity daily, and how the division of labour has changed from generation to generation, indicating that there is a generational change in the division of labour.

The researcher's own experience within the field was both educational and interesting. Not only was the researcher able to learn more about how Rehoboth is divided into blocks, but could also clearly see the social class structure of each block. Coming into contact with people from different backgrounds was informative and revealing, showing how each viewed their marriage and task allocation.

Their willingness to reveal how they share tasks and make decisions within their home, indicates that there is openness within the Rehoboth community to discuss such matters. It was, however, difficult reaching participants to do the interview portion of the data collection process as they had many activities taking up their time.

The researcher also came to understand the importance that religion plays within many of these couples' lives, and how they base many of their decisions on how religion views marriage.

The researcher found that many had the same view of the husband being the head of the house, even though they advocated equal decision-making powers within the home. This is an important element within the Rehoboth community where many wives and husbands feel that the man is the head and must have the final say in decisions. This was discussed more in detail in the findings and the data analysis.

3.7. Ethical dilemmas and considerations

These were the ethical considerations that the researcher strived for during the data collection process and the analysis of the data collected. As discussed below, the researcher has adhered to all the ethical considerations, and has thus not encountered any ethical dilemmas during the course of the data collection process and the analysis of the data.

As outlined by Neuman (2006, p.103, 142), these ethical considerations were:

- The researcher has guaranteed privacy, anonymity and confidentiality to the participants. In accordance with this, the researcher has changed the names of the participants in all documents related to the research. The privacy and anonymity are thus important in keeping them secure after the completion of this research. Interviews were also not referenced as the participants did not give permission to reveal them as sources in accordance with APA standards.
- The researcher has not coerced or forced participants to take part in the research process. As was discussed, the researcher did experience difficulty in finding a second couple in Block B. After the intended couple refused to take part, the researcher did not force them to participate but accepted their refusal and found another willing couple.
- The researcher has shown sensitivity with regards to power relations and gender relations in the research community. This was an important ethical consideration. Many participants hold the view that the man is the head of the household and his lead must be followed. The researcher recognised and has shown sensitivity towards this element of the research population.

- The participants have provided free and informed consent to participate in the study. All participants gave their consent after being informed about the study and what it was about. All found it interesting and gave open and honest answers regarding the questions posed to them.
- The researcher has ensured that the process of data collection has not harmed the participants as a result of the research. All data collected was given willingly and freely by all participants, and none of the data has harmed them or their relationship. They indicated that the study was an eye-opener for them.
- The researcher will hand in the tape recordings of the interviews, the journals to be archived in order to preserve the integrity and privacy of the findings and the final presentation of the research report.
- The researcher has strived for accuracy in the use of research methodological standards. The researcher has adhered to the use of all data collection instruments and data analysis so as to provide accurate results of the study conducted.

The researcher adhered to all these ethical considerations in accordance with the ethical certificate received from the University of Namibia, and thus followed all ethical guidelines.

No ethical boundary was crossed in the field of study and thus all findings are presented with a clear ethical consciousness. Thus, the integrity of the findings and the anonymity of the participants are preserved both during and after the completion of this study.

3.8. Conclusion

With any qualitative study, the researcher must use a method that will specifically fit the research question under study. As this is a new line of inquiry, the methods chosen generated the appropriate data needed to answer the research question. It was also of importance to adhere to ethical guidelines to protect the participants, the researcher and the findings to produce accurate and valid information for the academic community.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

The gender division of labour is an important part of any male-female relationship, especially as it pertains to decision-making and interpersonal power relations. It reinforces power relations. The study on the gender division of labour in the Rehoboth community is influenced by religion, which was evident from the findings presented. Since Rehoboth is divided into geographic blocks, the researcher selected participants on the basis of this division. The researcher has chosen from each block two couples with four coming from block D. This amounts to sixteen women and sixteen men, totaling thirty-two participants, making up sixteen couples. Information gathered from these couples is presented. In order to protect their identities and ensure anonymity the names of the participants have been changed and this will be indicated with a star on the front of each name.

The information was gathered using interviews and an activity journal. The activity journals were analysed applying the Harvard Analytical framework to produce specific gender segregated data.

4.2. Demographic information of the participants

This information is presented in table format showing age, ethnicity, occupation, number of years married and number of children.

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation	No. of Years Married	No. of Children
*Rodney	53	Baster	Building Contractor	25	4
*Frank	61	Baster	Retired Operator	30	4
*Jerome	68	Baster	Retired Carpenter	39	4
*Lionel	41	Shona	Medical Doctor	15	3
*Andrew	52	Baster	Mechanic	30	2
*Rodger	28	Baster	Service Advisor	7 months	1 and 1 on the way
*Henry	37	Baster	Self-employed	7	3
*Arthur	38	Baster	Sales	13	3
*Alfred	44	Baster	Credit Manager	16	1 and 1
*George	54	Baster	Sales Agent	25	3
*Jeffrey	34	Baster	Teacher	4	2
*Peter	29	Baster	Assessment Clerk	3	2
*Conrad	45	Baster	Carpenter	16	4
*Archie	34	Damara	Pastor	4	1
*John	46	Damara	Hostel Supervisor	Data Missing	4
*Richard	45	Baster	Roads Inspector	15	2

****Table 1: Demographic information of the male participants**

We see from the table a diverse group of men from different age groups, and ethnic orientation. Most are from the Baster community due to the fact that Rehoboth is a predominantly Baster community. The diverse age groups will give a sense of the generational changes of the division of labour.

Below follows the table of the female participants demographic information also listing age, ethnicity, occupation, and number of years married and number of children.

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Occupation	No. of Years Married	No. of Children
*Angela	47	Baster	Sales Agent	25	3
*Lynette	61	Baster	Housewife/Counselor	30	4
*Alice	66	Baster	Pensioner	39	3
*Suzy	39	Shona	HR Practitioner	15	3
*Lily	52	Baster	Housewife	30	2
*Anne	27	Baster	Teacher	7 months	1 and 1 on the way
*Michelle	35	Baster	Receptionist	7	3
*Elizabeth	38	Baster	Payroll Supervisor	14	3
*Joan	45	Baster	Secretary	16	2 adopted
*Rose	50	Baster	Teacher	25	3
*Simone	35	Baster	Teacher	3 and a half	2
*Silvia	30	Baster	PA	3	2
*Lisa	48	Baster	Housewife	16	4
*Richardene	31	Damara	Unemployed	4	1
*Arlene	40	Damara	Housewife	16	4
*Jane	42	Baster	Teacher	15	2

***Table 2: Demographic information of the female participants*

The demographic information of the women shows similarities in occupations, while men show diverse occupations. Most of the women are housewives or teachers. This choice of occupation may suggest the importance of being flexible and available also for household duties. Women like *Lynette, *Lily, *Lisa and *Arlene have been housewives all of their married lives, even though *Lisa had worked outside the home until the birth of her first child. Whether there is an expectation that women should occupy positions that allow them time to do household duties or not, will become clear through further analysis.

4.3. Activities and resource allocation matrices

To better understand the activities and time allocation we must compare the activities. However, only a few activities will be listed to shed light on the gender division of labour, yet the time listed will be an indication of the time these women spend on these activities. Below, the listed activities will be discussed in greater detail. Two sets of tables will be presented for both the men and women to accommodate the number of participants.

The participants will be divided into two groups for women and two groups for men. It will highlight the time differences between the men and women to illustrate how much time they allocate for the different tasks during the week.

The productive labour will only focus on the time allocated for one day, while for the reproductive labour and community service the researcher will focus on activities for the week. These totals are from what each participant recorded within their activity journal, as to the time they spend doing each of their activities both inside the home and outside.

Name	P.A Per day	Time a day	R.A. Per Week	Time for week	C.S. Per Week	Time for week	Total for week
*Jane	Teach/after school club	10h30 min	Cooking, tend to children, wash dishes	12h	Attend church, read bible	4h17min	26h47 mins
*Michelle	Receptionist in Windhoek	10h30 min	Cook weekends, clean house, tend to children weekends	17h50mins	Attend children's school sports day, visit friend regularly	7h	35h20 mins
*Lily	Housewife	N/A	Cooking, cleaning, tend grandchildren go to farm	31h20mins	Help out at church, help decorate wedding halls	42h	73h20 mins
*Simone	Teacher (on maternity leave)	N/A	Cooking, feed baby, take care of toddler, cleaning, shopping	25h25mins	Attend church, go to show grounds for festival	5h	30h25 mins
*Joan	Receptionist at Rhenish central office	8h	Cooking, clean house, do laundry, shopping	24h50mins	Church, Bible school, different functions	18h	50h50 mins
*Lynette	Counselor at church housewife	3h	Cooking, Cleaning, give workers food	35.50mins	Prayer sessions, women's group	16h	54h50 mins
*Alice	Needlework Pensioner	2h30 min	Cooking, tend grandchildren	50h10mins	Church, Children's group, needle work	16h10mins	68h50 mins
*Arlene	N/A Housewife	N/A	Cooking, cleaning, laundry	N/A missing data	Church, cook for old people	N/A missing data	N/A missing data

****Table 3: Group 1 women's activity matrix**

Name	P.A. Per day	Time a day	R.A. Per Week	Time for week	C.S. Per Week	Time for week	Total for week
*Anne	Teacher, Netball coach	14h40 mins	Cook, leaning, tend to child	39h20 mins	Church deacon, marriage seminar	10h30 mins	64h30 mins
*Angela	Real Estate Agent	12h for week	Cook, tend to children, garden	22h	Church, prayer group, Bible school	12h	46h
*Rose	Teacher, Attend workshops	15h50 mins	Cook, laundry, clean, care for mother	33h20 mins	Church, bread to old age home	8h	57h10 mins
*Elizabeth	Payroll Supervisor	9 h	Cook, tend to children ,laundry	37h20 mins	Church, work prayer group	5h25mins	51h45 mins
*Lisa	Needlework , Housewife	2h	Cook, tend to children, laundry, cleaning, shopping, gardening	26h	Church, needlework, help prepare meat for festival	44h	72h
*Silvia	Personal Assistant/beautician	13h	Cook, tend to children, clean	27h40 mins	Plan baby shower	5h30mins	46h10 mins
*Suzy	Housewife/ HR admin	3h	Cook, tend to children, clean, garden	45h10 mins	Church activities, marriage seminar	19h	67h10 mins
*Richardene	Housewife	N/A	Cook, tend to child, clean, laundry	26h50 mins	Attend different church activities	19h50	46h

****Table 4: Group 2 women's activity matrix**

Name	P.A. Per day	Time a day	R.A. Per Week	Time for week	C.S. Per Week	Time for week	Total for week
*Richard	Roads inspector, travel for work	9h a day even when traveling	Cook, tend to child, clean, feed dog, go to store	9h30mins	Church, help plan funeral	17h50mins	36h20mins
*Henry	Bus owner, part-time mechanic	28h50min for a week	Cook during week, tend to children during week	27h15mins	Part of MVA committee, attend children's functions	5h	61h5mins
*Andrew	Mechanic	9h	Cleaning the yard	1h	Attend Church	2 h	12h
*Jeffrey	Teacher, school board, rugby coach	13h30mins	Clean yard, wash cars, clean kitchen, laundry	15h	N/A	N/A	28h30mins
*Alfred	Credit Manager	9h, and on weekends 5h	Cook, water plants, clean, wash cars, feed dog	12h50mins	Church, Bible school, different functions	13h30mins	40h20mins
*Frank	Brick maker, pensioner, farmer	6h Farm 9h	Cook, clean yard, wash car, wash dishes	6h25mins	Church, clean church yard, prayer sessions	25h10mins	46h35mins
*Jerome	Pensioner, handyman	2h30mins	Cook, drop children, tend to yard, clean	20h	Church fixes around church and community	25h50mins	48h20mins
*John	Hostel caretaker	9h	Tend to children, tend to yard, clean dishes	4h	Self-made pastor, gospel radio show	7h	20h

****Table 5: Group 1 men's activity matrix**

Name	P.A Per day	Time a day	R.A. Per Week	Time for week	C.S. Per Week	Time for week	Total for week
*Rodger	Service Advisor Windhoek	9h30min	Cook, tend to child weekends, clean, wash car	9h30min	Marriage seminar, attend funeral	11h	30h
*Rodney	Self-employed building contractor	9h	Tend to children, share tasks with wife	9h	Church, deacon, prayer group	9h	27h
*George	Sales Agent, farmer	9h30min Farm 7h	Cook, tend grandchildren, wash dishes, tend to yard, pay bills	11h	Deliver bread to old age home, devotion	16h15mins	43h45 mins
*Arthur	Sales Representative farm	9h Farm 3h	Tend to children's school work, wash car, garden	15h	Church, men's group, church activities	34h30mins	61h30 mins
*Conrad	Carpenter	9h	Tend children, garden, clean garage	15h	Church, part of church choir	30 h	54h
*Peter	Assessment Clerk Windhoek	13h20mins	Cook, clean, water lawn, clean garage, wash cars, feed dog	11h10 mins	N/A	N/A	24h30 mins
*Lionel	Doctor	8h30mins	Cook, tend to children, cleaning, fix things	33h	Free work at hospital, marriage seminar	20h	61h30 mins
*Archie	Pastor	10h	Cook, wash dishes, farm activities	8h	All church activities	59h	77h

****Table 6: Group 2 men's activity matrix**

The activities and time matrix reveal that men spend more of their time in productive activities and community activities, while women's time was more focused on reproductive activities. However, there were some men who devoted a considerable amount of their time to reproductive activities, thus indicating that they do make time for these activities. Not all men, however, devoted a lot of time to the reproductive activities. This will be explored in more detail below by the biographical narratives.

However, to also understand the time allocation to activities, an understanding of resources is needed. Time in this instance can be viewed as a valuable resource alongside money. Women and men as it was observed divide their time according to what is important to them. This could be an effect of the socialisation of the men and women from a young age. They know what is expected from them and pay attention to tasks according to this. What was revealed is that for women most of their time as a resource is focused within the reproductive role, and for men this was the case for productive and community activities. The men spend more valuable time outside the home than in the home. Below follows Table 7 showing this resource allocation of time and money to look at access and control over time and money for both the men and the women. These are powerful influences with the patriarchal enforcement of the division of labour, and the maintaining of gender specific tasks. Linked together with the activities matrix and resource matrix is the matrix of influencing factors specifically highlighting the factors that influence the power relations in the gender division of labour.

Resource Distribution								
Couple	Women				Men			
	Time		Money		Time		Money	
	Acce	Control	Access	Contro	Access	Control	Access	Contro
*Richard and *Jane	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
*Henry and *Michelle	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
*Andrew and *Lily	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
*Jeffrey and *Simone	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
*Alfred and *Joan	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
*Frank and *Lynette	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
*Jerome and *Alice	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
*John and *Arlene	yes	no	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
*Rodger and *Anne	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
*Rodney and *Angela	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
*George and *Rose	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
*Arthur and *Elizabeth	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
*Conrad and *Lisa	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
*Peter and *Silvia	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
*Lionel and *Suzy	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
*Archie and *Richardene	yes	yes	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	yes

***Table 7: Access and control matrix in respect of time and money*

Influencing factors	Constraints	Opportunities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community norms and social hierarchy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Strong community norms and values that constrain women mainly to their expected roles of mother and wife 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Some women able to influence and change some norms within their home and the hierarchical structure to be more equal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demographic Factors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ As some participants work in Windhoek they must work outside of Rehoboth to earn an income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Able to find work outside of Rehoboth both the male and female participants as it is a small town
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Institutional Structures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ As was revealed the church plays an important part of promoting and maintaining patriarchal power relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Church a source of women coming together to encourage and help each other
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Economic Factors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Mainly men control the money in the home 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Women able to access and some control
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Legal Parameters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ N/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ N/A
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Training 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ N/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ N/A
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attitude of community to development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Belief Rehoboth is developing at a slow rate. Still have views from early missionaries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Women are able to be more active in community specifically the church
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attitude to gender equality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Some men and women still have patriarchal view of gender relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Majority of participants believe gender equality is needed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Attitude to historical changes in division of labour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Men still are reluctant to participate as needed in reproductive role 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Women more willing to enter into productive labour

****Table 8: Matrix of influencing factors to power relations and division of labour**

As resource allocation plays an important role in the power relations between men and women, it also influences the gender division of labour amongst couples. There is an indication of equal access and control over time and money for the majority of the couples, yet there are still instances of men having control over one of the two resources. This was revealed by the data gathered from the participants as is illustrated, revealing that there are still strong patriarchal influences on resource access and control.

However, there is the rare instance of *George and *Rose, whereby *Rose is the one who controls the money indicating she makes the decisions regarding the spending of money. Both she and *George supported the practice that she is the decision-maker on spending money. This is a clear shift of decision-making power regarding the allocation of money as a resource.

4.4. Biographical narratives

The activities matrix above clearly showed that there is a strict gender division of labour and time allocation of tasks between the men and women. Women focus more on reproductive activities while men focus more on productive and community activities. This was viewed as the norm as the activities listed by participants indicated. Men considered it their responsibility to work in the community and in the productive labour force. The female participants also supported this through many of their own responses in the interviews.

4.4.1. Productive, Reproductive and Community Activities

Childcare and household activities play an important role within the lives of women as was indicated by the matrix of activities. By looking at each couple's activities separately to better understand this, we will also get a clear picture of the power relations and the division of labour. We look at each couple separately in order to identify sufficient similarities to discern a pattern of how gender division is generally done; or whether there is sufficient involvement of each spouse within the different roles. This will also reveal the time management of each couple as indicated in the activity journal by them.

There are those men who indicated within their activity journal that their day is preoccupied with their productive labour. Some men like *George, *Henry, *Rodger, *Lionel, *Jerome, *Peter, *Alfred, *Frank and *Archie sometimes help with the cooking. *Arthur only cooks meals when going camping with his men group from church. Although *Frank helps out with the cooking, even though mainly for his workers, there are times when he cooks for his family which shows his involvement in reproductive labour.

The activity journals also revealed that all the men cleaned the yard and washed the cars, which is generally seen as a man's responsibility in society. The women were mainly responsible for the care of the house inside and doing the laundry. These men are not only willing to cook but also take a significant part in the care of their children when their wives are unable to do so.

4.4.2. *Richard and *Jane

*Richard was more involved in the care of the children specifically helping *Jane getting their daughter ready for school. It also reflected that *Richard took part in the cleaning of the kitchen every morning. *Richard also helped *Jane with cooking dinner during the week and on weekends he made breakfast for them. *Richard considered it important to help *Jane as much as possible due to her work commitments. When it came to community services, *Richard's involvement was demonstrated through going to church on Saturdays and helping to plan his brother in-law's funeral. It is believed that it is necessary for men to be active in such things.

Looking at *Jane's activities it is evident she does most of the reproductive labour like cooking, doing her son's laundry, washing the dishes and taking care of her daughter, even though she has a domestic worker. When it comes to her productive labour, *Jane is a primary school teacher from 06:50 till 12:50, leads an after school club "Window of Hope" from 15:00 till 16:30, which focuses on building skills and religious growth for the schoolchildren. Given this combination of reproductive labour and productive labour *Jane goes to bed at 22:00 most nights. She does receive help from *Richard and has a domestic worker who comes in and help with laundry and cleaning the house. Like her husband, she was also involved with community activities like going to church and recently helped her husband with the funeral arrangements for her brother-in-law.

An examination of this does reveal that there is a change in the gender division of labour in some households with husbands supporting wives with reproductive labour, revealing that the man made an effort to become more involved with household tasks and the care of their children. We will now turn our attention to the rest of the participants and what their activity journals reveal about the division of labour.

4.4.3. *Rodger and *Anne

*Rodger's childcare activities, for instance, include looking after his daughter mainly during the weekend while his wife *Anne pursues her community service projects. In his activity journal he outlined that over the weekend, he spends all his time at home with his daughter.

*Anne his wife, thus outlines in her activity journal that during this period of *Rodger taking care of their daughter, she engages in her community service, going to church on Saturday. This shows that even though *Rodger was working in Windhoek during the week, he does devote some of his time over the weekends caring for his daughter, and his wife devotes some of her time to her own activities. We see that, as a teacher, *Anne's time is also mainly taken up by school activities; however, she is actively involved in all three activities.

This can be overwhelming for her as she is kept busy almost all day most days of the week. She is also the netball coach and in the evenings she prepares her lessons for the next day showing that she is always involved in her productive labour.

4.4.4. *Jeremy and *Simone

*Jeremy also spends time with his children, although not as considerable as *Rodger. *Jeremy's wife *Simone is generally the main childcare provider, therefore, she splits her time so that she spends most of her time taking care of their children. *Jeremy lists "spending time with children" as his only childcare activity. Due to the fact that she is on maternity leave *Simone is now taking care of the children full-time. Some of the childcare activities she listed in her activity journal are: "feeding the baby (breastfeeding), taking care of the toddler and putting her to bed, and mostly seeing to children's needs". This shows that she carries the bulk of the childcare role.

*Simone indicated that as a part of her household activities she cooks every night and makes breakfast; cleans the kitchen; goes shopping and takes her mother places when she is in Windhoek. Thus, her day is filled with household tasks and childcare duties when she is not at school. Her husband *Jeremy's activities indicated that he helps more around the house than with the childcare duties. He cleans the yard; washes the cars; cleans the kitchen; sometimes does the laundry; and when in Windhoek with his wife he walks around town with her. This is, of course, sometimes beneficial to *Simone as she is more preoccupied with childcare duties. As a very active teacher, *Jeffrey indicated in his activity journal, and this was revealed in the activities matrix, that school activities take up a lot of his time. He is always attending school board meetings, coaching rugby and teaching afternoon classes. This limits his time for any reproductive activities and community activities.

4.4.5. *Lionel and *Suzy

One couple *Suzy and *Lionel indicated in their activity journals almost an equal amount of childcare involvement. The activities matrix indicated that *Lionel devotes a considerable amount of his time to reproductive activities during the week even though he is a doctor. This is very different from what is the expected norm between couples in society. *Suzy's time, as was expected, is mainly taken up by reproductive activities as was revealed. In both their journals, they indicated that they prepare their son for school in the morning, and both drop and pick him up from school as is convenient. *Suzy helps and checks the children's homework at night and also ensures that they are bathed and ready for bed.

Looking at the activities we can see that they do spend the same amount of time on childcare, apart from *Suzy who takes the main responsibility for homework and bath and bed time which takes up about 3 hours of her time in the evenings indicating that she is solely responsible for these tasks. This could be due to the fact that *Suzy is a qualified teacher as part of her multiple qualifications.

Examining their community service activities, both *Suzy and *Lionel devote a considerable amount of their time doing community activities. *Suzy organized and attended a marriage seminar at her church, teaching cooking classes for the elderly twice a week at the church, and is also part of the 'sister's club'/'women's club' at her church which she attends once a week. Together with her husband, they hand out food to the residents of Block E once a week.

From the information presented in the activities matrix, she spends a considerable amount of time doing community activities, suggesting an active public life. *Lionel although not as involved in church as his wife, took time to attend the marriage seminar with her and also handed out food to the residents of Block E once a week. He also participates in a bible study group. Being a medical doctor, *Lionel volunteers of his free time to work at the state hospital in Rehoboth.

4.4.6. *Rodney and *Angela

An assessment of the activities of *Rodney and *Angela points out that *Angela is mainly involved with the children, although both cited spending time with their children as part of their reproductive role. *Angela's involvement with the children comprises taking them to shops, bathing their grandchildren and looking after them when the domestic assistant is not present. *Rodney's only stated activity regarding their children is that of praying with them. No involvement with the grandchildren is mentioned. From the above, *Angela could be seen as the primary caregiver to the children as well as to the grandchildren.

In respect of time allocation to the children, *Rodney and *Angela run their own business for the most part of the day, and only spend a small fraction of their time with their children and grandchildren. When they clean the house or do house chores they divide these chores between them as indicated in the activities matrix, showing an ability to share tasks as well as allocate time accordingly.

When it comes to their community services both are very active, particularly within the church setting. *Angela is part of a prayer group and attends prayer group meetings weekly, attends church regularly as well as bible school, and regularly pray for sick people and their families.

*Rodney is considerably more active within the church as was revealed by the activities matrix and time allocated to these activities during the week. He is part of the church committee, member of the church prayer group, and a deacon in the church. By examining the list of his community activities we can see that he occupies a very active role within his church community, which takes up a considerable amount of his time.

During the period of data collection *Rodney also devoted some of his time to having breakfast with some of the church pastors. Like *Angela, *Rodney also devotes time to pray for sick people and also for people who suffered a loss of some kind. The activities of both *Angela and *Rodney points to considerable time devoted to community service and their productive roles. The activities matrix supports this as is evident with their time allocations.

4.4.7. *John and *Arlene

*John and *Arlene's activities show clear gender divisions. *Arlene is a housewife and her time is mainly taken up by household activities and the care of children. Included in these activities is the cleaning of her husband's church as it is next to their home.

In respect of childcare, she stated in her journal that she only takes care of their needs when they come home from school. Although *Arlene only recorded three days in her journal, it gives us an idea of what her day looks like and how she spends her time. Unfortunately *John only recorded one day of his activities so it is unclear how his daily activities are allocated and how he spends his time. However, *John did state that he only helps with the children when he gets home from work, which could be an indication of his parental duties. This was elaborated more on in the interviews done with him and *Arlene.

Apart from being a hostel supervisor by profession, *John is also a self-proclaimed pastor and has his own religious programme on the radio. This can be viewed as part of his community service. These activities take up most of his time. *Arlene stated that she attends church regularly, sets aside devotional time, helps in the community and serve and ministers to old people, including cooking food for them. Thus, like her husband, she is an active church member and devotes a considerable amount of her time to the church, and by extension, the community.

4.4.8. *Jerome and *Alice

*Jerome and *Alice are both pensioners *Alice was a teacher and *Jerome a handyman. Her productive labour at this stage consists mainly of needlework and mending clothes which bring in a small amount of money for the household. She remains, however, more active within the home than the community.

Within the home or reproductive labour setting, the majority of her time is devoted to household activities like cooking, cleaning the kitchen every morning, tidying the house, mending clothes, doing laundry and taking care of her grandchildren. As the activities matrix revealed, this takes up the majority of her time. In her activity journal she revealed that in the mornings her time is spent getting the children ready for school and at night she is also responsible for bathing them, mending their clothes, and laying out their school clothes for the next day. This could be seen as taking up 4 to 5 hours of her day, every day, as she is the main caregiver of her grandchildren.

*Jerome's reproductive labour includes helping *Alice preparing lunch and food for the Sabbath. The only involvement he has in the care of their grandchildren is that he drops them off at school showing limited involvement in childcare. However, although he indicated limited involvement in childcare, he indicated that he does spend a considerable amount of his time helping his wife at home, mainly with washing the dishes for her, raking the leaves outside, and do fixes around the yard and house. His time allocation is a reflection that he does make time to help her.

Although he is retired, he is still active in his productive labour role as a carpenter and handyman. He continues to do some small jobs for people, and in so doing brings in a little money into the home. Thus, both *Jerome and *Alice, although they are pensioners, earn small amounts of money through the work that they do for other people.

They are very active within their community and their church by both attending church services on Saturday's and also attend church seminars together. In separate instances *Jerome is part of the church council and regularly attend church meetings, and also help the pastor at church do work around the church. This confirms that he is very active within the church and shows commitment to it. He is also very active within his immediate community around their home by fixing things for free most of the time.

*Alice is a Sunday school teacher and also helps with different services at the church. Within her immediate neighborhood, she does some free needlework and is actively part of a group that provides support to children. This couple is clearly very connected to their community and devotes a considerable amount of their time to them as is evident in the activities matrix.

4.4.9. *Henry and *Michelle

This is an interesting couple who showed a considerable amount of involvement of the husband in the reproductive labour. *Henry and *Michelle showed that they both make time to be involved in the reproductive household chores.

*Henry cooks dinner during the week and allocate significant time towards the care of the children. Since he is self-employed as a bus driver and is the owner of buses, his time is flexible and as such he can devote a lot of time to his children. With the time allocation we see that most of his time is allocated to reproductive activities. However, this is only limited to the week as his wife handles all reproductive activities during the weekend.

This is also linked to the control of time as a resource as *Michelle has no control of how she spends her time over the weekend because per their arrangement, she is in charge of all reproductive activities during the weekend.

Some of *Henry's care duties include dropping off one of his sons at school and also picking him up after school. During the week he also bathes the children, specifically the two smaller ones, and during the weekend he takes them for ice cream at the mall, accompanied by his wife. When the one child had a school function during the weekend specifically a sports day, he attended from the morning until the afternoon, also taking part in some of the activities for parents. This devotion shows the important role *Henry plays in the care of his children.

Not only does he devote a lot of time to his children, he also indicated that he also takes his mother to the doctor over the weekend showing care to a fellow family member. Again, this could be due to the flexibility of his productive labour. It is important to mention that he is also a part-time mechanic, working on people's cars over the weekend.

*Michelle's productive activities are primarily that of receptionist working in Windhoek. During the week she leaves her home as early as 05:30 and returns only at 19:00. As a result, she is not available during the week to perform any specific reproductive labour. Part of her reproductive labour is finishing off dinner during the week, and over the weekends she makes breakfast for her family and do all other cooking.

When it comes to childcare, she mainly devotes her weekends to caring for the children, and only spends a small amount of time watching television with her children during the week. She did indicate that on Friday evenings they take their eldest son to the youth gathering at their church, and during the time of this research she and her husband helped someone move house. Apart from *Michelle taking care of the children over the weekends, she also cleans the house and tidies up. *Michelle indicated that on Fridays they usually buy fast-food and on Saturdays she does the shopping for the home. *Michelle's reproductive labour, it could be concluded, is only limited to week nights and weekends due to the demands of her productive labour activities.

In respect of their community service *Henry indicated that he only attend his children's school function, with *Michelle doing the same. No other community activities were indicated but in the interviews we will see if there are groups they are a part of. This sharing of the reproductive labour activities during the week and weekend could be an indication of their gender dynamics as a couple. In the interview *Henry does elaborate more on this.

4.4.10. *George and *Rose

*George and *Rose are also actively involved in dividing up the reproductive labour activities due to their job commitments. *Rose is a teacher at a high school and as such her productive activities include attending school workshops and parents' meetings. She devoted a considerable amount of time to her school activities as indicated in the activity matrix.

In her reproductive activities, she listed activities such as making breakfast and dinner, doing the laundry and ironing, and cleaning the house even though she has a domestic assistant. Clearly, she purposefully makes time for all these activities. Included in her reproductive activities are paying the bills and doing the shopping with her husband *George as he also listed this in his activity journal as part of his reproductive labour. Due to the fact that their children are grown-ups and she does not have any childcare duties, she does, however, provide care to her mother as she indicated this as part of her household activities. *George is a sales agent for Afrox in Rehoboth and as part of his productive labour he also farms, buys supplies for the farm and attends to farm matters regularly.

His reproductive labour indicates that he helps his wife on a regular basis with household chores. Some of these chores include washing the dishes, cooking sometimes, cleaning the yard and doing work around the house. As was mentioned earlier, *George indicated that he does sometimes take care of his grandchildren. This is done over the weekends.

By showing his involvement in reproductive labour, he devotes a considerable amount of his time to helping his wife as she is kept very busy with school activities. *George and *Rose's community service activities include reading the Bible at night. *Rose also included in her activities in the community that of attending church regularly, and baking and delivering bread to the old-age homes in Rehoboth. They also attended a friend's re-marriage party at the coast.

They only recorded limiting community activities due to their work responsibilities. The time allocation to these activities as was revealed by the activities matrix is very limited due to the reproductive and productive activities they engage in. This shows that their productive labour is a significant part of their daily life and takes up the majority of their time.

4.4.11. *Arthur and *Elizabeth

*Arthur and *Elizabeth both work in Windhoek, *Elizabeth as a payroll supervisor and *Arthur as a sales representative. As indicated in their journals, their days start early by leaving for Windhoek at 06:30 after dropping their children off at school at 06:20. They depart for Rehoboth after knocking off work at 17:00. When they arrive back in Rehoboth *Elizabeth does quick shopping at 18:20 until 18:50 whereafter she goes home and starts preparing dinner. *Arthur takes the domestic worker home between 18:20 and 19:00 depending on what time his wife finishes with the shopping. Thus, these activities already take up so much of their time leaving limited time for reproductive labour when they come home during the week.

In respect of her reproductive labour, *Elizabeth spends time from 18:50 to prepare dinner and by 22:00 she takes her bath and goes to bed. Some of the activities that consume her time in the evening include preparing dinner, checking children's homework and helping them with homework, and also praying with them before they sleep. In the morning when she gets up at 05:15, she prepares the children's lunch boxes and breakfast.

These childcare activities take up the majority of her time whenever she is not working outside the home. Further, household and childcare activities include making lunch over the weekends, making beds and tidying up, cleaning the house, doing the washing, and washing her daughter's hair. Her productive labour and reproductive labour activities take up almost all of her time, leaving little time for community activities. Her community service activities are only limited to going to church, a prayer group at her work, and attending children's school activities.

*Arthur's household activities are not as substantial as *Elizabeth's. They include dropping the children off and picking them up at school, helping children with school projects, cleaning the car, watering the garden and cleaning outside, buying food for the family when necessary, and finally taking the family for shopping on Saturdays. At the time of data collection, *Arthur recorded that he was on a camp with his men's group from church and that there he cooked breakfast for them. This was the only cooking activity recorded by him in his activity journal and this is linked to his community service.

His other community service activities include going to church on Sundays, being part of the men's group at church as mentioned above, engaging in camping trips with this group, and giving food and clothes to underprivileged members of the community. These community activities amount to 34h30min which is considerable for a week's community activities'.

This indicates that he devotes the majority of his time to community activities instead of reproductive activities which is only 15 hours for the week. His activities are extremely different from those of his wife as she is more focused on household chores and her productive labour. His time managed is thus that he is able to engage in more community service activities than household activities, leaving the brunt of the household chores to his wife. This is similar to *John and *Arlene's household division of labour and time management.

4.4.12. *Conrad and *Lisa

Another couple's division of labour and time management who reflects *Arthur and *Elizabeth's activities are *Conrad and *Lisa. *Conrad is employed as a carpenter and *Lisa is a housewife, who earns a little income from doing needlework for people. *Lisa's activities which fill up her day until she goes to bed, includes cooking dinner and having lunch ready for children when they come home from school, preparing Sunday lunch on Saturdays, attending to children's schoolwork in the evening and getting them ready for school in the mornings, attending to pigeons, cleaning the house and tidying up regularly, doing the laundry and ironing the clothes.

She is also in charge of doing the shopping, and lastly does gardening. All these activities represent the bulk of her work day as she is mainly focused on the reproductive role. At the time of this study, *Lisa, *Conrad and their children helped each other by cleaning "affol" to cook.

*Conrad, on the other hand, only listed cleaning the yard, taking care of the pigeons, watering the garden, cleaning the garage, doing the shopping with his wife and lastly going to the post office as part of his reproductive labour activities. His childcare activities are very limited as he only listed spending time with his children and cleaning the “affol” with them. This could be viewed as *Lisa’s responsibility to see to all the children’s needs as she also listed this as an activity. She devotes the majority of her time to her children and the care of the home. Reflecting on their household activities, one observes that they have a clear division of activities with *Lisa’s main responsibility being the caring of the house and *Conrad focusing on the productive labour.

*Conrad and *Lisa’s community activities are mainly centred around church activities that they regularly participate in as a family. *Conrad and *Lisa both listed attending the meat feast at a local church with their family as a community activity. *Lisa’s community activities include attending church, doing needlework for church curtains, reading the Bible every morning, helping the family prepare meat for the meat feast, and at the time of this research attend a family wake service and funeral.

*Conrad’s activities include reading the Bible and listening to gospel music on the radio, going to church and being part of the church choir. His community activities are more than *Lisa’s, which could be due to the fact that the reproductive labour takes up more of her time. This is very similar to *Arthur and *Elizabeth’s activities.

4.4.13. *Frank and *Lynette

*Frank and *Lynette whose activities almost mirror those of the previous two couples, have slight differences in their division of the reproductive labour. Both are pensioners even though *Lynette is a volunteer counsellor at church, and *Frank makes bricks at home. Some of *Frank's productive activities include, paying his workers, driving to the garbage dump to collect bottles, and selling sheep skins. Before this he was an operator of heavy machinery which took up a lot of his time. Turning to the reproductive labour, *Lynette is mainly in charge of household tasks. These tasks include cooking lunch and dinner, making tea every morning for her and her husband, giving lunch to her husband's workers, washing the dishes, cleaning the house 2 to 3 days a week, doing shopping for the household necessities, and lastly making sure the food is always prepared on time. This takes up all of her time when she is not counselling at the church as is evident in the activities matrix.

*Frank's reproductive activities include, sometimes making food, including barbecuing, although not regularly, cleaning the yard and washing the car, taking *Lynette shopping and also helping with the shopping, and buying the necessary products for his business. Although his activities in the household are few, it does show that he is involved in helping *Lynette where he can. Their community activities include reading the Bible every morning and night, attending prayer sessions every night at the church and attend church services. As their children are all grown-ups they only meet with them when they are in Windhoek or when their children go to Rehoboth.

Their separate community activities on the other hand are: *Lynette is a counsellor at the church, gives motivational talks on the radio, at the hospital and visiting people in their homes, and being part of her church women's group. *Frank's separate community activities include: cleaning the church yard and doing repairs around the church, helping needy people with money, and talking on the radio about his Zimbabwean trip.

These community activities are mainly centred around the church which is becoming a clear theme with most of this couple's community activities. This is also the case with two of the final three couples that will be discussed before delving into the interviews. The interviews will shed more light on why the division of labour reflects the way it is.

4.4.14. *Archie and *Richardene

*Archie is a pastor by profession and as part of his productive labour, he has to prepare sermons for Sundays, attend to all church activities and do administrative work at the church. Some of his productive activities also include farming. His wife *Richardene is currently unemployed and is a housewife. She does, however, help her husband with farm activities like feeding some of the animals, and fetching water, and assisting her husband in milking the cows. This could also be seen as part of her reproductive labour activities as they are linked to the home.

*Richardene's other reproductive labour activities include making food for her husband, taking care of her son daily, taking her son for his haircut and playing with him, cleaning the house, doing the laundry and ironing, and doing shopping for the house and the farm. These are the expected activities generally for a housewife and as *Richardene is currently unemployed, she attends to them daily.

*Archie's reproductive activities include sometimes making breakfast for himself, helping his wife clean the dishes when she is very tired, and playing with his son. This indicates that he is not as involved with the house activities, even though he tries to assist when possible.

Due to the fact that *Archie is a pastor, he and *Richardene's community service is mainly focused around their church and community. *Archie's community service include attending to a lot of church services and preparing the sermons for every Sunday. Due to this, most of his time is spent on these activities and this amount to 59hours a week, which is considerable as indicated in the activities matrix.

In his community he helps prepare soup for the old people of the church and is a presenter of a gospel hour on Radio Capricorn every Wednesday evening. *Archie's productive labour and community service are interlinked to the point that they are assumed to be one and the same activity.

As a pastor's wife *Richardene needs to be heavily involved in the community service of her husband's church. These activities include attending a lot of memorial services, attending church parties for pastors, attending all church functions outside churches when invited, and attending church as the pastor's wife. Like her husband, *Richardene's community service is somewhat church related especially making food for the elderly and visiting patients in the hospital.

4.4.15. *Alfred and *Joan

*Alfred and *Joan moved from Oranjamund to Rehoboth a few years back. They are involved in sharing their activities as much as possible. *Alfred is a credit manager at Ellerrine's furniture store in Rehoboth and as part of his productive labour, he receives account payments from clients. He works weekends as well. *Joan is a receptionist at the Rhenish Church central office and as part of her productive activities she cleans the church office and does the administrative work of the church. This shows both of them actively taking part in the productive labour outside the home.

The household activities of *Joan and *Alfred are shared between them. *Joan's reproductive activities include making dinner and breakfast, cleaning the house, washing her husband's work clothes and do laundry in general, paying the bills and do grocery shopping, and knitting a scarf which could be seen as a relaxing activity.

*Alfred's reproductive activities include, cooking dinner and also helping his wife with dinner sometimes, sometimes making lunch for himself, sweeping the floors outside, watering plants, washing the car and the dishes, putting the clothes in the dryer and as such helping his wife with the laundry, doing grocery shopping and sometimes buying fast food, and lastly, feeding the dog and giving water to the birds. Clearly

*Alfred helps as much as possible in the household chores and so do not just limit his time in a way which will allow him to help *Joan as much as possible in the home. Since their daughters live in Windhoek, they only visit with them when they come to Rehoboth.

Like many of the couples, *Alfred and *Joan are also part of those whose community activities are mainly church related. They share community activities such as attending church, attending Bible school on Monday nights, reading the Bible and praying every morning and night, and attending church functions regularly. There are some community activities which are separate from their church activities, such as attending a wake of a deceased friend, attending a 21st birthday party, attending their godchild's baptism, attending community functions in Rehoboth, and also regularly visiting friends.

These activities are more in support of people they know than helping in the community, which could be due to the fact that their children are out of the house and so they do activities to keep themselves busy. This shows that they put aside a lot of time to participate in these activities so as to be a part of the community.

4.4.16. *Peter and *Silvia

*Peter and *Silvia one of the young couples in the study, did not record all the required days, but enough to give a clear indication of the division of labour between them. *Peter, an assessment clerk who works in Windhoek, also has part of his productive labour picking up passengers in Rehoboth and taking them to Windhoek and then back to Rehoboth again. He does get paid for this and should be considered a part of his productive labour. *Silvia who is a P.A., at PricewaterhouseCooper in Windhoek also drives passengers to and from Windhoek and this should also be considered as part of her productive labour.

Due to the fact they both work in Windhoek, their time is dictated by this reality. They leave for Windhoek around 06:00 and drop off passengers at 07:00 in Windhoek. They pick up their passengers at 16:30 then only drive back at 17:00 and arrive home around 18:00 – 18:30. This schedule of productive work directly impacts their reproductive activities. As part of her other productive activities *Silvia also owns a salon at home and buy supplies for it.

The first thing they do is pick up their children at *Peter's parents' house after work before going home and taking care of their household chores. *Silvia's reproductive activities include making breakfast for her and her child as well as dinner for the family, taking care of her children's needs like playing with them, bathing them, breastfeeding her baby, picking up and dropping off her oldest child at school, while dropping her baby off at her mother in-law who takes care of the child during the day.

*Silvia's other reproductive activities include cleaning cupboards, doing the laundry, cleaning the house and kitchen every night, cleaning the yard, do grocery shopping, pay the water bill and all other accounts, and cooking porridge for their dog and dropping food off for her father in-law. Although she breastfeeds at 03:00 in the morning, work in Windhoek through the day, the majority of the household chores are still *Silvia's responsibility. As is evident from above, the childcare duties are mainly her responsibility.

*Peter's reproductive activities include preparing Sunday lunch and sometimes dinner during the week, cleaning the kitchen and washing the dishes, cleaning the garage, watering the lawn, washing the car and Kombi, taking out the trash, giving the dog food, and helping his father load of materials at his home. *Peter does try to help *Silvia as much as possible as the activities indicate. This issue will be explored more in detail with the interviews.

Unfortunately *Peter did not list any community activities, but *Silvia did record some community activities in her activity journal. *Silvia's community service activities include planning a baby shower, preparing a platter for guest and decorating the venue, and also participating in work functions such as a fun day when there is one. Again, there is a fine line between productive labour and community activities.

4.4.17. *Andrew and *Lily

Since *Andrew did not complete his activity journal, it is difficult to compare his activities to those of other male participants. However, in his interview he stated that he is a mechanic with his own shop. At home his only household activities are cleaning the yard and gardening. Clearly, he is not as active as some of the other male participants in the home.

Being a housewife, *Lily's activities are more centred in and around the house. Her activities include caring for her grandchildren during the week while their parents work in Windhoek. She drops and picks up her one grandchild from school, and bath them at night before their parents pick them up. Her household chores include cleaning the house and doing the laundry; she also goes shopping and takes her sister shopping. Her community activities include helping out at their church. She also helps decorating wedding halls with her sister-in-law. In the absence of her husband's journal entries, it is difficult to compare their activities to see how much they actually share activities within their home.

After examining each couple's activities the researcher now turns to what the interviews revealed. These activity journals only revealed the activities each couple engages in and with the use of the Harvard Analytical Framework, we are able to make an analysis in terms of the gender division of labour. Although many men do participate in the home, their participation is still limited due to factors that will be revealed through an analysis of the interviews that are to follow.

4.4.18. Workloads of women

The division of labour is clearly outlined in the activity journals and the analysis of those journals is done by the application of the Harvard Analytical Framework. Based on the Harvard Analytical Framework, the activities matrix indicated how the division of labour is done at the household level. In the analysis of the activity journal it was found that all women engage in the majority of the household chores irrespective of whether they are housewives or not.

Working women like *Silvia, *Anne, *Elizabeth, *Michelle, *Simone and *Rose reveal in their activity journal that their day only ends late at night, due to the household tasks they must also perform at home. Although *Simone is currently on maternity leave with her second child, she indicated that her day was full even though she was just at home with the children. Based on the resource matrix, although women have control over their time, the reproductive labour takes up the majority of their time. This, combined with the activities matrix, indicates that this is an enormous burden for the women, specifically those with full-time jobs.

Although their husbands assisted in many cases this assistance is not enough in lightening the workload for the women. Those who have domestic workers still revealed that household work take up a lot of their time. This is similar for all women as was illustrated above and this is further reinforced by the answers they provided in their interviews.

4.5. Similarities and differences in the gender division of labour in the household

The interviews were conducted to gain an in-depth understanding of why these couples divide their tasks the way they do. It's not only to gain understanding, but also to identify the generational changes in the attitudes regarding the triple burden, if any exist within this community. By linking and identifying similarities and divergences in answers, the researcher established which participants hold the same view, and which hold contrasting views regarding the triple burden according to which women and men are socialised in terms of their roles.

4.5.1. The reproductive role: Thoughts on the sharing of household tasks and childcare with spouse

4.5.1.1. Household tasks

When asked to share their thoughts on the sharing of household tasks, the participants revealed to a certain extent how far they expect their spouses to help with these tasks.

*Angela revealed that her husband is a very busy man and that he doesn't really get time to help with household chores except when they make 'potjiekos' which he normally prepares. *Rodney, however, had a different view than his wife *Angela. According to him, it is important that household tasks are shared, stating "It is a priority for me to share in the household activities with my wife, to do all the activities with her".

Even though this was *Rodney's answer it is in stark contrast to what his wife's view of him sharing household tasks. *Angela's answer could be associated with the justification that women are responsible for the reproductive activities. This could be linked to the socialisation of women into their gender specific roles as to what activities women should participate in. The fact that *Angela is not expecting her husband to help with household tasks shows that she maintains and promotes the patriarchal view of the gender division of labour. Another couple who almost had the same view as *Rodney and *Angela are *Frank and *Lynette. Others like *Lionel, *Andrew, *Peter, *Alfred, *Jeffrey, *Archie and *George professed that they do take an active part in a few household tasks like cooking, cleaning, doing the laundry, cleaning the yard, and washing the cars.

They all mentioned that this was to help their wives as they felt it was their duty to help where they can, thus only offering voluntary help to their wives in the home. *Peter said that this is because he does see his wife is very tired sometimes and will help her where he can to lighten her workload, given that she is also still breastfeeding.

*Archie stated that for him "...a marriage is 50/50 in the sense of you learn me what you know and I learn you what I know". So for him it is about teaching each other about household tasks and helping each other. *Alfred, *Lionel and *Jeffrey stated that they do not expect their wives to do it all alone and that they help them wherever they can.

Contrary to this, men like *Conrad and *John are of the view that household work is women's work. This notion came through based on the answers they provided to the question on what are their thoughts on sharing household tasks. *Conrad stated as part of his answer, "[b]ecause I am the breadwinner, I feel I go out to work so that which must be done at home, she must take on it while I am not at home, and when I get home, we help each other and do it together". Clearly *Conrad holds this view that his wife is responsible for the main household upkeep and care due to the fact that he works. The only time he does help her is when he comes home and by then she could have finished all the tasks even though he says they do them together.

*John's answer is a very traditional view of a woman's place in the home. To understand this, we must look at the totality of his response. "Yes, it is a question; a very deep question. A person can't really say that a person can put pressure on the woman the whole time because we have girls, a person must also be able to discipline them to be a part of the household inside because they are the parents of tomorrow. So they must start today to prepare them when they get married that the house the family home being the college that prepares you for when you get married. The household chores she handles while I help. Sometimes making the girls share in it so that they can be active in the household".

*John's view is a very male centred, very patriarchal view on the woman's role in the home. His response and the fact that he places such emphasis on disciplining his daughters, is a way of exerting power over them.

In so doing, he demonstrates that he is in charge of the home and that he makes the decisions regarding the household activities. His authority is absolute in his home and his family does fall in line with this.

The fact that *John states that he disciplines and already teaches his daughters that they must be part of the household and that it is their responsibility, can be an indication of him distancing himself from taking an active part in household chores. So the burden of all household work falls to his wife *Arlene and their daughters as he sees this as preparation for marriage. This is a total opposite view from many of the male participants, especially the younger generation. It is almost similar to *Conrad's view yet he is also different in that he does mention helping his wife *Lisa when he gets home from work. *John's view could also be traced back to his traditional upbringing as he is a Damara man and it is believed they do have some strict traditional views of a woman and the home.

*John and *Conrad's answers are a good example of power relations favouring the men over the women. Although his answer is different from many male participants, there are men who hold this view within society. This is a promotion and maintaining of the patriarchal power of men over women through the division of labour. By limiting their wives to the reproductive role, men are in fact exerting their power over their wives, by taking away their decision-making power to participate in the productive role.

Their community activities are also limited to how active their husbands are in the community, and based on this they participate in community activities. This is seen as justifiable by these men and women as both couples view the man as the head of the house and so follow his lead in the division of labour.

The women participants are all basically of the opinion that the husbands must be involved and share in all tasks in the household. This is due to the fact that all the work cannot be done by women alone. *Lily, the wife of *Andrew, was of the opinion that household work must be shared between men and women, but sadly that is not always the case. Reflecting on her upbringing, she states that women were expected to do everything for their husbands because husbands were the breadwinners. However, this scenario has changed with many of the women in productive labour now expecting their husbands to help more with household tasks.

*Arlene however, had a very opposite view from her fellow female participants. She stated in her answer that: "...me and my husband and children must serve the Lord and going forward and looking forward in life". When further asked if her husband must be involved in the house, she only stated that, "Yes, in the house and in the church and in the community". She has a very religious view of how her husband must be involved in the home and not just the home but also the church and community. Clearly, religion is an important part of their daily lives and this determines the norms and standards to which the family subscribes.

These views are also reflected in the childcare activities of these couples. The men who are actively involved with household chores are also to some extent actively involved in childcare. Those who have the view of a woman running the house alone, also leave the care of children primarily in the hands of women.

4.5.1.2. Childcare

*Angela and *Elizabeth shared similarities in their responses, namely that the domestic worker mainly takes care of the children. However, *Rodney, *Angela's husband, did mention they are also part of the children's lives as they are mostly at home. *Elizabeth did indicate that when she is at home, she looks after the children, otherwise the children stays with her sister until they find a nanny.

This view was shared by *Arthur. *Simone and *Jeffrey also employ a domestic worker most of the time. However, they both consider *Simone as the primary caretaker of the children. *Silvia and *Peter both stated that Silvia takes care of the children, however, when *Silvia is working in Windhoek, the children's grandmother takes care of them during the week.

*Anne and *Rodger also stated that their daughter's grandmother looks after her during the weekdays, and *Rodger said that weekends his daughter is mostly with him. All these couples stated that they have domestic workers or other family members to assist with childcare. The rest like *Alfred and *Joan, *George and *Rose, *Frank and *Lynette, *Andrew and *Lisa; and finally *Alice and *Jerome all have children who are grown-up and just come to visit occasionally.

*Alice mentioned that she takes care of her grandchildren who stay with them while their parents work in Windhoek and Walvis Bay. *Lisa also stated that she takes care of her grandchildren, but only during the weekdays when their parents are working in Windhoek. Even though these couples have grown-up children, they do play some part in their children's and grandchildren's lives. *Alfred, *George, and *Frank mentioned that when their grown-up children have a problem they mainly talk with their mother, but they are also involved when they are needed.

*Alfred says his own daughter is more comfortable talking to him than to his wife *Joan, and their adopted daughter is more comfortable talking to *Joan than with him. So each child has their own comfort area with a different parent. *Richardene, *Arlene, and *Suzy said they are the ones responsible for the main care of their children as they are at home during the day. *Suzy did mention that her husband *Lionel is also active in bringing up the children showing he does have an active role in childcare.

An interesting arrangement that was mentioned when it comes to childcare was that of *Michelle and *Henry. When asked about who takes care of the children the majority of the time, *Michelle only indicated that her mother looks after the children, but *Henry in his answer went into detail about an arrangement between him and *Michelle. *Henry explained that at this stage it is he who takes care of the children, as his work is more flexible since they do not have a trustworthy person to take care of the children. He also stated that while his mother-in-law is staying with them she does look after them, but when she leaves it will be him mainly until they find someone.

*Henry explained that since he is self-employed and flexible, he is more at home. He asked his wife, *Michelle to leave her job and stay at home in order to take care of the children, but after one month at home she went back to work. He further explains that since she went back to work at the time of this study, they came to an arrangement that weekdays and weeknights he will take care of the children since she needs time to rest. However, from Friday nights till Sunday nights, she takes the full responsibility for the care of the children, allowing him to do his own things.

At the time of this study, it was already the fourth month that they had been using this arrangement which has apparently been working for them. This is an interesting arrangement as it shows that he has a very active role in childcare. This is in contrast to other participants who mainly stated that it is the mother, grandmother or domestic worker who mainly sees to the care and needs of the children. Like *Henry, there are the few such as *Rodger, *Alfred, and *Lionel who seem to try and play an active role in the care of their children and not just leave it to their spouses.

The responses of the younger generation of the couples point to the men being actively involved in childcare and household tasks. Conversely, with the older generation, it is evident that many of these activities fall to the women and so they carry this double burden on their own. A couple like *John and *Arlene bring in religion and strict gender roles and raise their daughters according to these views.

With many couples and their household activities we see the men are not conforming to strict male roles, and so are able to help their wives where they can and this is a good sign. By doing this we see that the gender roles are evolving and changing and couples are moving away from this strict view of men and women.

4.5.2. Productive role and community service

4.5.2.1. Productive role

Since the productive role plays an important part of the triple burden all participants were asked the question: ***Do you consider it important for your spouse to have a job? Please elaborate on your answer.*** Extrapolating from the literature review and some of the responses of the participants, there seems to be a belief that a woman's place is at home, hence the need to explore how rigid gender roles might be between these couples. This question is also aimed at identifying the power relations to see how active some of the women are outside the home.

With *Angela and *Rodney, the researcher observed that it is important for them that both are involved in productive labour, albeit from different perspectives. For *Angela it is because *Rodney should be the breadwinner, and for *Rodney it helps to augment their income. Other couples like *Lionel and *Suzy, *Rodger and *Anne, *Henry and *Michelle, *Arthur and *Elizabeth, *George and *Rose, and lastly *Archie and *Richardene all have the same view that both husband and wife must participate in productive labour. Their rationale behind this view is driven by economic factors such as the cost of living and the quality of family life.

This is an opposite view of the traditional idea that the husband is engaged in productive labour and the wife stays at home, taking care of the household needs. However, there were couples who supported the traditional view, mainly from among the older couples. Surprisingly, there was one young couple who planned to move towards the traditional set-up of gender engagement in the productive and reproductive labour sphere. For *Frank and *Lynette this is not the case. *Frank stated that it is not important for him if his wife does not work. He stated that the day they got married, he told her that he would take care of her, and that she would have more time at home and taking care of her things. However, now that they are older and he is retired, she decided to start working and he says he is okay with this, as she can now do her things with her own money which she previously could not. *Lynette said it is important that her husband work because he takes care of the house. And it will be good if he can get a job again.

*Alice and *Jerome are also both retired and don't really see it as important now. *Alice said it was important when they were younger, but now that they are retired, she would not put pressure on him to work again. *Jerome, however, stated it is not necessary that she has a job, "...as long as she is here at home it is more important for me, a house needs a woman, a woman who rules here". From this answer we see that *Jerome is of the view that for him a woman's place is in the home, and that she is in charge of the home and runs all aspects of the home. One could almost assume his wife has all the power in the home based on his statement.

Another husband and wife who answered in a similar fashion was *Conrad and *Lisa. *Lisa only stated it is very important *Conrad works because he is the breadwinner, so he must work. *Conrad's answer is supportive of his wife's stating: "...I feel the man must be the one who takes care of the woman so I feel the man must actually be the breadwinner in the house. I don't see the need because there are so many things in the house that need to be done. I feel it is better that the woman takes on that at home, then you don't really need a maid. A maid can come in and come help and so on if it's necessary, if it's too much that needs to be done with the tasks otherwise I feel the woman it's her duty I feel on the one side". This is a strong indication of how *Conrad views a woman. He states it is her duty to be at home and take care of the household tasks. A domestic worker can only come when the tasks are too much for the woman. A clear gender division of labour is apparent between them with *Conrad working and supporting the family, and *Lisa staying at home and taking care of the home.

An interesting statement by *Jeffrey was that they said she can have a job if she wants to if it makes her happy, and if she does not want to then she does not have to have a job. He is very flexible as he does not see it as imperative for her to have a job, but will let her have one if it makes her happy. In this way, he concedes to what his wife wants. This is a very neutral viewpoint thus not enforcing the fact that she does not have to work yet he will allow it if she wants to. For *Simone it is important as she feels the family will not be able to survive on one income which is the view of many women who choose to work.

For *Peter and *Silvia, it is a case of “both must work” because of financial reasons, yet *Peter did add that this is only because he is at the moment unable to carry the financial burden alone. He did indicate that when he is able to carry this burden alone then he would want *Silvia to stay at home and give more attention to the children. *Silvia also holds the religious belief that the man is the head of the house and must take care of them, thus also pointing to the fact that she wants to stay home one day. *Andrew and *Lily both feel he must be the breadwinner. *Andrew said that they are not in want of anything, therefore there is no need for his wife to work.

This notion of gender and labour is purely premised on economic and financial considerations and not on role allocation. According to *Arlene, *John has to work for her and the children and in so doing take care of them. *John’s answer was a bit contradictory as he was in support of both working, yet he departed from this, quoting a Bible verse as a point of reference for his answer: “...the man must work because in the sweat of his person he must earn his bread with and the woman is a helper”. *John and *Arlene have so far demonstrated strong religious beliefs in all their answers and this is one of the strongest from *John. He contradicts himself by saying he believes both must work yet he feels he must be the breadwinner and take care of them and that his wife is only a helper. In his answer, he further states that “...it is very important for me that the woman must work, but on the other hand, you get housewives that keep the house in order when you come home the children are clean, the food is made and the clothes are in order and all of those things”.

Even though he is in support of a woman working, his strong religious beliefs will not allow him to let his wife work, as is evident in the answer he provided. This is the view of some of the men in the community, mainly the older generation using religion to justify their decisions. Since they use religion in many of their daily decisions, it is also reflected in their community service. Below we will see how church activities or church sponsored activities dominate community service for those couples involved therein.

4.5.2.2. Community service

What was gathered from the responses was that the majority of the couples who took part in community service did so in the church. They stated that they are a part of a church and thus engage in church activities as part of their community service.

*Arthur, *Conrad, *Rodney, *Alfred, *George, *Archie, *John and *Andrew are all part of a church group within their individual churches. *Arthur is part of the men's group of his church. And at the time of this study, he was with his church group, and handed out clothes to people in another part of Rehoboth. *Conrad is in his church's choir and engages in any activities the church might have. *Rodney is a deacon and also takes part in prayer groups. *Alfred who moved to Rehoboth 2-3 years back, just joined a new church and engages in all their activities, as well as community activities that the town might have. *George was a deacon in his church and part of the deacon's fund committee where he served food to people.

*Archie as a pastor is actively involved with the church as it is part of his duties. He also tries to minister to his community at large. *John, a self proclaimed pastor in his community, runs his own church which is next to his home, and so he engages in his church's activities. Lastly, we have *Andrew who only takes part in prayer groups and church administrative activities. As we can see, church plays an important role in many of the participants' lives – a common feature of life in Rehoboth.

However, there are of course individuals who take part in other community activities, and some who do not engage in them at all and as such we will explore them below. *Henry and *Lionel are the only ones of the men who take part in other activities outside the church. *Henry is part of the Motor Vehicle Association committee where he engages in helping with transport decisions; *Lionel helps his wife with making soup and running a soup kitchen in Block E and also volunteers at the state hospital in Rehoboth.

However, at the time of this study *Lionel also attended a marriage seminar organised by his wife, showing his willingness to take part in church activities. There are also men who do not engage in any community activities or church activities. They contended that time was the reason why they do not engage in any such activities. *Rodger indicated that due to his work in Windhoek, he does not have time to spend on community activities. During the weekends he just wants to spend time with his family.

*Jeffrey also stated in his answer that he does not have time for community activities except if they are school related. And he is a teacher with a lot of commitments during school hours and with after school activities. Some of these activities include rugby practice since he is a coach, and usually school board meetings. Therefore, it is difficult for him to make time to engage in other activities outside of home and school due to his hectic schedule.

*Peter plainly stated that he does not take part in any community activities and that it is due to the fact that he does not make time for them. Here the issue of time has come up with all these answers indicating that for some people time is a limited resource.

The majority of these men devote some of their time to community activities for which they are not paid. They do it out of love and charity. This view is shared by the female participants. *Angela, *Lynette* Alice, *Suzy, *Anne, *Joan, *Richardene, and *Arlene all stated that for their community service like their husbands they are mainly involved with church activities. *Angela stated that she is part of a prayer group with her husband and helps him as he is a deacon in their church.

*Lynette indicated that she counsels people experiencing emotional difficulties in their church, do house visits, hospital visits, and participate in church activities such as conferences. Her answer indicated that the church takes up a considerable amount of her time. Since she is a housewife, her time seems to be divided between the home and the church.

*Alice gave a long answer as to the extent of her involvement in community service when asked about her community involvement within the church. She indicated that she is mainly a part of the children's section in her church due to her background as a teacher. She also mentioned that she is a part of a children's programme called "Pathfinder" with different age groups.

Within these groups they teach the children different skills like cooking, needlework, and nature related activities to help them build life skills. Thus, she as a pensioner, is able to devote a considerable amount of her time to these groups and church activities with the Sunday school.

*Suzy explained that she helps out at church, work as a clerk at the church and does some administrative work. She also explained that through the church they run a soup kitchen under the welfare department where people donate money and buy groceries. She also explained that they give out basic commodities to underprivileged individuals.

*Anne, a teacher, explained that she is involved with the youth at her church, serves as a deaconess for the youth and regularly participates in outreach programmes in Block E. This area is considered to be one of the poorest areas in Rehoboth and as such many people help individuals within this area.

*Joan explains that as new members, they are very active in church. She is also the church secretary. She and her husband also actively take part in events held in the community and actively visit relatives and friends.

For *Richardene and *Arlene, being pastors' wives, their community service is seen as part of their duties. Since the church and community are seen as one and the same by them, the majority of their activities centered around the church when not at home or at work.

Evidently, church life also plays an important role within the female participants' lives, as is the case with the men. We could thus assume that their community activities mirror each other and to a lesser extent, this is also the case for those female participants who do not take part in the church activities. Like some of the men, there were also women that stated that they do not have time to participate in community activities.

*Lily was one of these women, claiming that her household activities keep her too busy, and thus she does not have time for community activities. She did state that she helps her sister-in-law with the decorating of wedding reception halls, however, this is only on weekends, if and when there is a wedding. When she does this, it keeps her busy till midnight, especially on a Friday night, suggesting that she devotes a considerable amount of her time to this kind of activity. This could also be due to the fact that she does get paid a little for her assistance with the decorating work.

Like some of the men, *Michelle works in Windhoek, and because of the travelling and fatigue factor, she spends her free time with her family and thus does not get involved in community activities. However, she also added to her answer that: "...I am more a person, a person being with my family I am not really someone who goes out, a family person". This could be an indication that she prefers to stay at home and not take part in community activities.

*Elizabeth, whose answer was almost similar to *Michelle's regarding family, indicated that the only community activities she takes part in are her children's school events. *Elizabeth's husband, *Arthur is the only one among them who is really active in church and community activities. This could be a time limit issue on her part or a family issue. Thus, for some of these women, family activities are more important than community activities which is a contrast to some of the men's and other women's answers.

Like *Jeffrey, *Rose, another teacher, indicated that she does not have time for community activities due to her schedule, however, she did state that she and her husband deliver bread to the old-age home. *Simone also gave the same answer as her husband *Jeffrey and *Rose. as it seems to be a teacher takes up a considerable amount of their time. Simone said the care of her children is part of the reason why she is not actively involved with community services. Therefore, it can be assumed that she splits up her time with the children and school, and thus have no free time for other outside activities.

*Silvia, unlike her husband *Peter, takes part in community activities, but instead of the church, she does it through her job. She indicated in her answer that they organise fun days to raise money for charities, and thus also contribute to these charities out of their own free will. She also helps with any soup day that they might have at work, showing her willingness to make time and participate in community service.

*Lisa only gave a vague answer as to the extent of her community service, only indicating that when someone needs her help she goes, and that she only attends church on Sunday's and goes with her husband when his choir travels. This is a very unclear answer and thus the researcher cannot really determine *Lisa's involvement in any community activities or her time devotion to it.

As we can observe from the above, the church plays an important part in these participants' lives and thus cannot be seen as separate within the triple burden. For them community service are church activities and as such they will devote their time accordingly. Since just witnessing how much time is a factor in their lives, attention will be focused on time as a resource and the management of this resource.

4.5.3. Time as a resource and time management

Like any other resource, time is a valuable aspect of these participants' lives and one of the questions they were asked focused on their time. As we can see with the triple burden, time management is important if they wish to complete all their activities within the three different roles. And as discussed above, community service can take up a lot of time or there is not enough time to get to those types of activities.

We see that the activities matrix revealed that time is an important resource for all couples. Women focus the majority of their time on household chores and some on community activities, while the men's time is mainly focused on productive and community activities.

All of the women stated that for them time is an issue since they do the majority of the work. They all stated that they wish for more time in the day to get their things done both in the home and outside. One answer that particularly stands out is that of *Anne where she first stated how she divides up her time yet later argues that she does not have enough time during the day. She made the statement that, "I think if I divide up my time between my family, my work and church, I think each of them have like equal time. I don't know 40% here, 30% at work and 30% at church". Due to the fact she made this statement when asked about her community service, she later stated that she does not have time to complete all her different tasks and wishes for more time during the day.

This is a common view of many of the women. *Lynette, for instance, stated that sometimes she feels that the time is limited, yet if you work on a programme which is time-bound, you will be able to complete all your tasks. However, even though this might seem as a simple ideal, it does pose a problem for those women who actively take part in all three roles. *Alice, like *Lynette, also shares the same sentiment when she states "It takes planning; you must divide up your time so that you can go through your day's planning".

*Joan spoke of prioritising, yet she also echoed that time can be a problem if you do not do proper planning. All of the above viewpoints suggest that for some women, the solution to dealing with the demands of the triple burden is an issue of time management. This is but one coping strategy added to the notion that with help from their husbands they will be able to complete the tasks in a given time frame. *Suzy, for instance, highlighted the fact that she does not have enough time, but with the help of her husband she is able to get things done. She further states that without his help, she would be exhausted if she completed all the tasks on her own.

*Lily also stated that taking care of her grandchildren can be time-consuming and overwhelming. Childcare takes up a considerable amount of time, and this is also the case for *Elizabeth who helps her children at night with schoolwork and gives her toddler son attention at the same time. *Simone stated that as a mother, wife and working woman, time is an issue as she has many responsibilities and it can be frustrating to cope with everything.

*Richardene and *Arlene, being the wives of pastors, feel that they do not have time for their personal activities. Yet *Richardene stated that if she gets up early she can get some things done during the time she sets for herself before she leaves for her productive duties. Clearly, these women feel stressed out by the lack of time to complete their tasks, stating that with help from their husbands they will have more time and be able to cope.

However, as was indicated from previous answers, some men feel that some tasks are just for women, and so do not help to relieve the stress of a full day full of household activities, childcare and work.

What the men's answers reveal is that they generally do not have enough time during the day, confirming a similar trend as the women. However, instead of being kept busy with household chores and childcare, they are mainly kept busy with productive labour activities. *Rodney for instance stated that for him time is always limited to do the things outside and inside the home but that he cannot get to everything.

*Frank stated that for him time is also limited. Yet, when one is past the age of 60, one shall make time to rest. This is something he stated in his activity journal that he does regularly. This introduces the dimension of age as a factor in the amount of time one devotes to activities during the day. As he's retired, it was surprising to see that time can be an issue for him just as it is for the younger generation.

*Rodger works in Windhoek and this limits his time availability during the week. Even over weekends, he attends to his mother and so his time is also not enough to finish all the tasks he has. *Arthur stated that most of his time is taken up by commuting between Rehoboth and Windhoek. *George stated that as a working man, he does not have enough time for household tasks, yet when he is free he does household tasks. Since he has to put bread on the table, he did not put in household tasks in his activity journal, and as such indicating that the productive activities consume most of his time.

By doing so, his wife *Rose who also stated she has a time issue, carries the burden of the reproductive activities. *Jeffrey stated that he lives at school and does not have time for any other activities. This is unlike his wife who is also a teacher and who has to split her time between home, school and their children with a little help from *Jeffrey.

Like *George and *Jerome, *Conrad stated that his job also prevents him from engaging in any household tasks, especially since he travels away from home regularly. Although he has stated he wants to do more at home, this is not possible since he is the sole breadwinner and must go out to work, limiting his time at home.

Many men argued that their productive labour takes up their time and, therefore, they are unable to share the reproductive labour in the home. This places stress on their wives. They assume that their wives should be solely responsible for all reproductive labour and should not expect their husbands to make time to help them. *Archie, a pastor, stated he must always be available for his congregation and church duties. He indicated that he must console families at any hour. He is also expected to attend different church meetings, and thus he has no time for other activities. By making himself available to his flock and church, he cannot always be available to assist his wife with household tasks as his time is limited. This is the same for *John, hence any time he might have, he will only spend with his wife and children to give them attention and not assist with household tasks.

There were of course men who stated that they do have enough time to complete their tasks during the day and that time was not a problem for them. This only depends on how much work they take on during the day. *Jerome who is retired, stated that he thinks he has enough time to complete all his tasks if they are not too much. *Lionel, for instance, stated that he might have enough time to complete his tasks outside the home, yet at the expense of his tasks in the home. It can be concluded that his productive tasks take up the majority of his time, which could explain why his wife indicated that when he helps in the home it takes a huge burden off her shoulders. But for *Lionel one part of his life will suffer due to how he divides up his time, and usually it is the home which is disadvantaged by the time management. This is common to many men and households who would rather spend the majority of their time outside the home on productive tasks.

*Henry was the only participant who stated that for him his time is enough due to the fact that he is free since he is self-employed. As such he is free to do all his tasks without feeling that he is in need of more time and so can also spend time with his children relaxing. However, he did state that when he was working he did not have enough time as he worked in Windhoek and by becoming self-employed all this changed. He is now able to spend more time with his children and care for them because of this change in his productive activities. This indicates that there are different influencing factors to time management. *Alfred, like *Jerome, stated he has enough time if he does not take on too many tasks during the day. He also stated that for him if he does not get to certain tasks, he will leave them for the next day which is a common thing for some men.

*Peter's answer is a very casual response as he stated he feels he has enough time to finish all his tasks if he is not lazy. This is interesting since his wife *Silvia indicated that she has a time issue with all the things she has to do. She also indicated that what primarily takes up a lot of her time is childcare since she still breastfeeds. She also stated that when you become a mother and wife it is a never-ending job. By looking at these contrasting answers from *Peter and *Silvia, we do see that *Peter has time to help his wife, yet he does not really do so with childcare but tries in respect of household tasks. This could be why many women indicated that it is stressful and frustrating when they must do all their tasks and feel overwhelmed by them. With help from their husbands this could all change, and so an equal sharing of the time as a resource can take place.

As can be observed, for both the men and women time is an issue, taking into account the priorities of their tasks. However, what became clear is that the female participants mainly devote the majority of their time to the household tasks and childcare, while the men spend the majority of their time in the productive labour. Through this assessment, it has also become clear that these women feel overwhelmed from all their tasks, specifically those who also have jobs and still tend to their homes and children. If their husbands were to assist in the reproductive tasks, then there would be some relief for these women and they will be able to cope with their triple burden. Assistance from their husbands can provide them with a coping mechanism which would enable them to manage their time and other resources better.

One of these resources, decision-making power, will put them in a position to decide which tasks their husbands can do in order to assist them when time is a real issue. The issue of decision-making as resource and as a determinant of the power relation between these men and women is explored below and its importance to the division of labour.

4.5.4. Decision-making power

The question of decision-making power is an important consideration when one looks at the division of labour between a wife and husband. This is particularly important since many people believe and argue that men have more decision-making power than women. The question, however, is whether this situation has changed over the years. If so, this will be a positive development as it affords more equality between them not just when it comes to the division of labour but all other aspects of the male-female relationship.

On the question of the division of labour, it is observed that the participants all stated that both have an equal say in deciding who does what tasks. Yet there were a few who presented a slightly different perception, even though they echoed the same ideal.

*Alice for instance indicated that there were some decisions which her husband made, but it was not that he would go overboard with it without considering and consulting her. Most of the decisions were always made together.

For *Lionel and *Suzy, it is a question of which decision will be most practical at a given time and as such they make their decisions based on this. *Anne also shares this notion of convenience when it comes to decision-making between her and her husband. She stated that since her schedule is more flexible than his, she takes it upon herself to make the decision regarding tasks. However, contrary to her answer *Rodger stated that when it comes to outside the home, he makes the decisions and inside the home she makes the decisions. This illustrates that for *Rodger there is a clear gender division of the decisions made between them regarding their tasks and the sharing of the tasks.

*Henry sometimes takes it upon himself to make a decision when there is no opportunity to discuss it with *Michelle, but they do make the majority of the decisions together. *Archie and *Henry share similarities in having to make decisions sometimes due to time constraints or considerations, with *Richardene having to do the same, despite making decisions together for most of the time regarding tasks.

Although both *George and *Rose stated they make decisions together regarding the division of tasks, but *Rose sometimes takes the lead in deciding on the allocation of assignments because she must sometimes tell him to do something when he does not think of it himself. This is in support of *George's later statement that she also takes the lead in dividing household chores between them.

For *Simone and *Jeffrey, this is similar to *George and *Rose. Jeffrey said that *Simone sometimes takes the lead in deciding on the division of tasks although *Simone said they decide together. *Jeffrey stated that they would first argue about it, and the majority of the time she would get her way. Simone and Rose are two strong women who are able to take the lead in deciding things regarding the home.

*Peter and *Silvia provided contrasting views on the question of decision-making regarding tasks. *Peter stated in his answer that for him it is not a question of deciding, but knowing your duty and having your own area to perform your tasks. However, *Silvia made the following statement; “I think most women do, because men doesn’t always know exactly what to decide and I think they need their wives’ point of view also to have a better vision for the tasks”. Therefore, she is in support of wives taking the lead in deciding tasks in the home, thus making their husbands the followers of their decisions. This is not to have power over their husbands, but to give them guidance on what needs to be done in the home and outside the home.

However, there was one couple who has stated plainly that for them the man must make the decisions in the home and outside the home. This couple is *John and *Arlene who mainly take their cue from the Bible and base their answers on it. *John further explained in his answer, using a religious metaphor, why the husband makes the decision; “I believe in God’s order, heavenly order the man the woman, yes the man, the woman, the children.

It's God's order first God and then the man, and then the woman; there must be order but the biggest is as a person a man and woman sits and talks and plans. I like it when the wife is a part of it the planning and not that you order the woman". Although he talks about the man making the decisions he did state that it is not to order the woman around, but to make her a part of the planning thus discussing plans with her. However, we could assume that he is taking the lead in decisions just like the women stated above.

For these couples it is important that they make decisions together and only now and then one of the two takes the lead in making a decision. This is also reflected in the answers they provided when asked in general, "*do they think men and women should have equal say in deciding the division of tasks*". Some have also stated that this has changed over the years from generation to generation in favour of women, giving women more decision-making power within the home and the sharing of tasks and resources.

Both male and female participants answered that it is important that both men and women have an equal say, not only in decisions regarding the division of tasks, but also about all aspects of their lives. For *Rodney if each has a say then at the end of the day it will be 50/50 sharing of decision-making for them as a couple.

*Lynette and *Frank believe there must be an understanding between them and as such they must discuss everything. However, *Lynette indicated that each must know what they have to do and what is expected of them and not wait on the other to make the decision.

*Alice believes that both opinions need to be taken into account when making a decision. For her, housework can become slave work with the potential that you could fall into a routine. But with the approach of the weekend and other activities things can be reflected on positively.

4.5.5. Generational change

The question of generational change in the gender division of labour reveals how much things have changed between men and women when it comes to dividing activities in the household. *Jerome (68) argued that as you grow older you must help each other and so reduce the burdens of household chores. For *Lionel (41) and *Suzy (39) it is important to share tasks as this is also part of bonding between them, encouraging equality, and teaching each other new things.

*Suzy also related that from her parents, she saw that a good couple share tasks and a sense of work and decision-making was carried on to their children, as the children use this as an example of married life. Generational change is an important factor in maintaining equality between men and women, as younger couples take the example of older couples in how decisions are made. *Suzy explained that the way she and her husband do things is the way she saw her parents do them, and thus she wishes to carry on this practice to her own children and build their character.

*Lily (52) and *Andrew (52) have differing views when it comes to decision-making *Lily believes that they must make decisions together to avoid conflict. However, her husband *Andrew believes that there are some decisions which the man must make alone. He used the example of the farm. Even though the farm may have a house, he makes the decisions due to the fact that he believes it's because she knows nothing about farming. He argues that certain decisions can be made together while others are made individually. He does not view this as giving more power to him.

*Anne (27) stated that she believes women do more than men even though there should be equal decision-making power with regard to the division of tasks. In her response, she maintains that women do complain about the fact that they do most of the tasks in the home. She argues that women are better at delegating tasks and getting things done and that for a man just being a man is already enough work for them. She appears to be clear that men find it difficult to do things and get them done. *Rodger (28) believes in equal decision-making power and thus avoids forcing work on one another. In his opinion, it is better to share the work inside and outside the home.

*Henry (37) at one stage did not believe in women having equal rights, because he believed the man was the head of the house and as such made the decisions. However, he did say men do make a lot of mistakes with some of their decisions, therefore, they must acknowledge their faults and be honest.

The result is that he has changed his view and now believes that there must be equal decision-making in the home, as this will also make the burden of work and relations easier. He also feels that things have changed over years and that for the current generation things are totally different.

Women now have more rights and decision-making power which is a good development. The result is minimised conflict between husbands and wives. Henry now allowed his wife to work when previously there was a time when he did not want her to work. According to her, she worked when they met and wants to continue working. *Henry thus feels that men and women must make decisions together regarding the different activities including things they wish to do in the home.

*Arthur (38) believes that although there is 50/50 decision-making, there are still some decisions which ought to be reserved for a man, while others are to be reserved for a woman. Clearly, he still has the view which was so common over the past years of how tasks should be divided. He sees that he is responsible for outside the home and his wife *Elizabeth (38) is responsible for work inside the home.

However, *Elizabeth does feel he can be more involved in the home and with the care of the children, as she feels she is overwhelmed by all she must do in the home. For her, the little that he does is not enough as there is so much that needs to be done, showing she has a desire to have him more involved in decisions regarding the children and house care.

*Elizabeth also argued that things have changed over the years, and that today a man cannot expect a woman to slave away in front of a stove and still raise how many children. This does not work and will not work any longer as he must bring his side. Although she is of this opinion, her and her husband's activities reflect the reality of her still doing the majority of household tasks.

In the past, those women were in her opinion super women who were able to do everything. As she further states all of them are now working from 8h00 to 17h00 and a woman must still come home and do household chores. This simply does not work; hence she feels her husband must bring his side as she cannot do everything alone.

As stated above, *Rose (50) takes the lead in making decisions and this is because her husband does not always see the things that need to be done, even though she believes in equal decision-making in the home. However, *Rose believes there are still traces and evidence from the past of how decisions were made between men and women. As she explains, she grew up in a time when the man was the head of the house and that he decided what must be done and by who. However, she explains, this has changed over the years and now she believes both men and women must work. This gave more power to women when it comes to decision-making regarding tasks and other aspects of the household and family. In the past, the woman stayed at home and the man worked and this was the case with her parents as it was the custom. *Rose believes that the new generation must adapt to the new circumstances and acknowledge that there are more rights for women who have more power in the home and outside the home.

*Simone (35), for instance, answered that, "... I think it has changed a lot over the years if I look back at our parents and our grandparents. I think time has really evolved a lot, and we are stepping into modern times where husband and wife do things together and take decisions together. Not like in the olden days where only the man had to say and the women had to jump when he has spoken". With such changes we can see that couples have a more contemporary outlook, with wives playing just as an important role in decision-making as their husband which wasn't the case years ago. *Simone's husband *Jeffery (34), on the other hand, stated that there are some things which a woman can do better than a man, and as such they make decisions according to that reality.

*Silvia (30) for instance, believes in the equal decision-making power of men and women, yet she indicated that she misses the time of the traditional housewife. She longs to be a housewife and grow her own vegetables and attend to her home and family. However, with the economic reality of today, this is not possible as her husband is not yet able to carry the financial burden alone. This illustrates how the economy drives an important part of why things have changed from generation to generation. With women entering the productive sphere, it comes with greater decision-making in the household.

*Lisa (48) indicated that she and her husband *Conrad (45) believe in equal decision-making but for her, the husband always comes first. This is further supported by *Conrad's statement when he says there are certain decisions that a man must make alone, but the majority of the time they decide together.

For him the decisions which are mainly for the man to make are decisions regarding the children as he is the head of the family. *Richardene (31) is also like *Simone and *Rose when it comes to deciding what must be done and that her husband goes with her decisions. She argues that this is a good thing as he is a pastor and sometimes does not have time to decide over the tasks of the home. She brought out an interesting cultural and generational issue when contending that in the Damara culture, men are no longer the only decision-makers simply based on the fact that they are perceived to be the head of the house. Today, decisions are made together regarding the family and the home. She says this change in their culture is for the better as women in the Damara culture are now able to work and not just stay at home.

At the time of this research, she was actively looking for a job and her husband was supportive of her efforts to find a job. Her husband *Archie (34) shares this opinion as he contends that he is not a traditional African man, and so does not go along with the traditions of the husband being the head and as a result controls the wife. For him, his wife has her own mind, knowledge and experience and as such she can teach him things and vice versa. In so doing, they can grow together.

These changes over the years of women becoming more involved outside the home, especially Damara women is a very good thing for *Archie as it indicates that women's rights and power in their relationships have grown and they can now make decisions regarding their own division of labour within the triple roles.

*Arlene (40) says things have been changed for the better with men now being more involved with the home and their family. Yet from a religious point of view as a Damara woman, *Arlene feels men in this generation are hiding and are not involved enough with their families and the home. She argues that the men are the heads of the house and so must take up their responsibilities as such. She is in support of the traditional view of the husband and wife and also in support of religious considerations. Her husband *John (46) also has the same point of departure using religion to justify his views of the man-woman relationship. He states that in Scripture the man is the head of the house and the woman must submit to the man. This is contradictory to his statement that men and women must make decisions together and plan together. *John does say that, on the other hand, you must not force your wife to make decisions. *John further explains that the man is the priest, prophet and king of the home and as such, once he accepts his place, according to this, he will be able to fulfil his duty as husband and head of his family. He must be able to govern his family, according to the teachings of the Bible.

This shows that he is still very similar to the traditional view of the power relations between men and women, and based on his wife's answer she is in support of this view. In supporting this view his wife perpetuates and maintains patriarchal power within her home and their church. This is common with many African women as they also enforce cultural practices which re-enforce the patriarchal power in the home.

It is assumed that the majority of African women feel it is their duty to support and maintain their husband's power in the home. The data reveal the differences of these couples. Many have adopted the modern view of the sharing of power and decision-making in the home. Others maintained the past view of the man as the head of the house, and as such gave more power to him. The gender division of labour, both now and in the past, is done in terms of either sharing the power or one of the two having the majority of the power. These findings reflect what was stated in the literature, but are also somewhat different in some areas. This will now be compared in the next chapter in terms of the debates surrounding the division of labour and decision-making power.

4.6. Conclusion

In summary, the findings have revealed that women do spend the majority of their time doing household chores, even though they do have control over their allocation of time. The men, it was revealed, devote the majority of their time to productive activities and community activities. As this was the held assumption and in support of the literature that was researched, it will be important to compare these findings to the literature to reveal how many similarities there are between the theories and the findings, and what differences exist if there are any.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1. Introduction

The examination of the gender division of labour within the Rehoboth area revealed similarities with many other studies done on the topic, in particular Charles' (1993) study of married women's paid work. In this study Charles sited that even though married women do work, their main priority is the care of their husband and children. This is the same for all of the Rehoboth women as the findings have revealed. An important distinction which already reveals that women are expected to fulfil the reproductive role as it is seen as their main priority. It was revealed that with the reproductive labour and the productive labour, men and women are expected to fulfil these two roles according to how they were socialised, as is revealed in the literature and in the findings.

5.2. Reproductive and productive labour

The examination of the reproductive and productive labour revealed that there was some change in the division of tasks with some couples and not with others as some men, as was revealed, are now more involved within the household. However, this is only limited change as the reality supports the theory maintained by Kirk and Okazawa-Ray (2010), although many women are employed outside the home, they still carry the main responsibility for the reproductive labour. This "second shift" as it was coined by Hochchild (1989), is present within the Rehoboth community.

The majority of working women stated that when they come home, they still need to see to the household chores and family needs. What the activities matrix revealed is that the women devote the majority of their time to household tasks during the week, while men devote the majority of their time to productive and community activities. This could be due to the fact that they hold the expectation that their wives will see to these tasks. The amount of time spent on productive labour by women is quite considerable despite the fact that it is expected that their main focus should be on the home.

While it was revealed that there are men who devote much of their time to reproductive labour, despite the fact that they spend a lot of time in productive labour and community service. However, in many cases the time devoted to productive and community activities of men, still outweigh the time they devote to reproductive activities.

What emerged through observing the activities of these participants, are that all the men, except those who are retired, are active in the productive labour force. This can be linked to Washbrook's (2007) theory, as he suggests that people must fulfil differing responsibilities due to gender stereotyping. As was revealed by some of the retired men, they are still expected to provide financially for their families and some do this by having their own businesses. With the men the observation that can be made is that their productive labour activities do not change, even when they are retired. They continue to shoulder the responsibility of providing for the family.

This view can be seen as supporting and perpetuating the patriarchal view that the man is the breadwinner of the house. They have cited various reasons ranging from taking care of their families financially; to it's their responsibility to be the breadwinner. Engels (1909) supports' this view in his theory that the men are the ones who participate in the productive labour force and women's labour is a supporting element to their labour power. However, we see that Engels (1909) undervalues women's importance in reproductive labour and its link to productive labour.

This patriarchal view of women's labour is held by one particular male participant in this study who only talks of his wife as being a "helper" to him. He does not acknowledge the importance of his wife's labour, but only sees it as necessary in helping him. This is similar to Engels' discourse on power relations within the home – men's dominating and controlling women's labour to benefit their needs. This is the reality that has emerged out of the findings; however, this view is not dominant amongst all the participants.

It is not only the men that support and maintain this male-centered view of women's reproductive labour. What emerged out of the study is that women themselves maintain and promote this view. There was one participant who highlighted the importance of her husband's authority in the home. She maintained that he is the head of the house and she follows his will in all things related to the home including the division of tasks.

This view is similar to Friedan's (1963) in her work *The Feminine Mystique* and Davies (1987). What the cultural practice 'efundula' outlines is what some cultures view as the ideal woman according to society's standards. She must have her place in the home and not outside.

The theory and reality are much the same as some participants have indicated that they promote and maintain the patriarchal ideology within the home and the community. Although this male-centred view is held by some participants, there is change within the community. Men are now becoming more involved in the home and women more outside the home. By moving into the private, sphere many male participants have shown that they can break free from traditional expected masculine roles, and female participants who move into the public sphere have broken free from expected feminine roles.

The findings also reveal that twelve of the women are part of the productive labour market. This reality appears to be at variance with the theory of gender division of labour, and thus, the expectation of Marx and Engels. The findings present an interesting picture where women are now more active within the labour market, compared to the 4 women who are only confined to the reproductive role. However, although these women are working, they are still responsible for the majority of the household tasks, even though the findings reveal that the men are also active in this role. Compared to what participants revealed about the past, there appears to be a change in practice.

What was revealed through the findings is that the men only became involved with reproductive labour when they see their wives are overwhelmed and tired. This limited assistance, although helpful, is not enough to alleviate the triple burden these women carry. However, this does not yet constitute a change in expected gender roles. Women are still expected to be in charge of the home and childcare. This is a strong reflection of what many theorists have argued. Women will always be responsible for the reproductive labour and men will always be expected to be a part of the productive labour.

5.3. Community activities and time management

With the community activities observed that it is not only the men that are part of the community service activities, but also the female participants. This could be due to the fact that the majority of the community service activities are centred around church activities. The church plays an important role within the lives of participants as most outreach programmes within the Rehoboth community flow from the church.

There are only a few community activities which are not linked to the church, which some participants are a part of. However, these church activities influence how some of these participants divide their time indicating that the church, like the productive and reproductive role, take up a lot of their time. For the majority of these participants, time management was indicated as an issue, explaining that due to their different responsibilities one of the three roles gets neglected.

The women specifically indicated that time is a problem. Irrespective of the fact that some of them hold jobs in the productive sector and are involved in community service alongside their spouses, they continue to carry the primary responsibility of taking care of the vast majority of household tasks. As each gender spends time differently in performing the different roles, this difference is highlighted as it is assumed that women spend more of their time in the home, and men more of their time outside the home. This was revealed to be the case as the women have stated that their household chores take up the majority of their time, while the men spends the majority of their time in the community service and productive labour.

The women seem to be unanimous in submitting that what will improve their time management, is when their husbands are more involved in the reproductive labour role. With some men already involved in some parts of reproductive labour, it is evident that time allocation on the part of men towards reproductive labour, ultimately becomes the issue, driven still by an underlying assumption that reproductive labour rests primarily with women. Women still devote the majority of their time to the home and so are not able to get to other activities outside the home. Childcare was also cited as being one of the activities that took up some of the women's time, as they were the ones who were mainly responsible for the care and needs of their children. The study done by Winquist (2004) in Europe focusing on time allocation in the division of labour for couples from the ages of 20 to 74 years, can be affirmed that this is a common problem and not just confined to the community of Rehoboth. Time is an important resource to these participants as it is an issue for them.

Contrary to women's growing involvement in community activities, what was interesting to note was that the majority of the time it was the men who were involved in community activities, as the time allocation revealed in the activities matrix and resource table. This could be due to the fact that men are expected to fulfil the community activities. Koptyoff's (2005) study on the Suku from Zaire supports this ideology. In this tribe only men participated in community activities. This was because they were men. This same reality and logic to some extent can be applied to the participants based on the amount of time these men devote to community activities. This can be seen as deliberate on their part as they are not as involved with the reproductive activities as would be ideal.

5.4. Cultural and religious influences

With so many intense debates around the influences on decision-making power and division of labour, it is confirmed that cultural practices and religious beliefs are seen as the strongest influences.

Not only do they influence these two important factors of gender relations, they also maintain the patriarchal system and practices within the community. This study confirms that religious ties appear to be more evident and important within this community than cultural ties, as the former speaks to their identity as a community, unlike in other cultures in Namibia, where cultural practices support and maintain the gender power relations.

Iipinge and Lebeau (2005) and Hango-Rummukainen (1999) support this view in their separate discussions on culture in Namibia. These different practices like *efundula* discussed by Hayes (n.d.) and Davies (1987) and male and female initiation discussed by Masule (1999), all influence the power relations between men and women as well as determine the gender division of labour. These practices are there to enforce and maintain patriarchal power within certain cultures within Namibia. However, the Rehoboth community does not have these cultural practices present. They are rather guided by religion, which influences the power relations and gender division of labour between men and women, as was evident from the findings. This could be linked to the Rehoboth Town Council's 2005 report on the number of churches within this small community which is over 70, indicating that religion is an important part of the participants' and the community's identity.

The strong religious influences within the power relations and gender division of labour can be linked to the missionaries who influenced the community in the 1800s. Zandberg (2009) alludes to the strong religious influence as a pillar in the construction of the modern-day Baster identity. Based on this, we see that some participants use religion to justify the power relations when it comes to decision-making and the division of labour. By relying on this element from the past, we see that they maintain and promote the dominance of patriarchy.

Patriarchy is believed to be an established system which is maintained through socialisation and, traditional and cultural structures, particularly the family where all the gender division of labour begins. These practices are assumed to establish the gender relations, and so young and old people maintain this view of men being the head of the household and women being submissive, consequently also reinforcing this notion in the gender division of labour.

The researcher found that some participants use the Bible to justify their dominance in the home. One participant in particular used it to explain his dominance over his family, which is reinforced by his religious beliefs instead of cultural beliefs. However, we see that when compared to Davis (1981) and Hooks' (1981) theory of gender division of labour and power relations amongst black women and men; we see that although there are slight similarities in his dominance over his wife and children, we find that the reality is much different than the theory. His wife, for instance, does not work outside the home and for Davis (1981) and Hooks (1981) this was an important element to the oppression of black women in the different roles. They highlighted a double oppression, yet this participant as a housewife and self-made pastor's wife does not experience this oppression as the theories of Davis (1981) and Hooks (1981) argue.

In a community like Rehoboth, this is a strong indication of the influence of the church on these couples and their gender relations. Men believe they are the head of the house and so this is also maintained by their wives. This was also evident with many young couples even though it was not as strongly reflected as with the older couples.

Religion, like cultural practices, has the propensity to promote male dominance and consequently promote and maintain the patriarchal power of men over women. Although there are practices in other cultures which maintain patriarchal beliefs as revealed above by Lebeau and Iipinge (2005), this was not the case in Rehoboth. However, religion had the exact same effect as cultural practices of maintaining male dominance in decision-making and the division of labour. Not only are these traditional views of the division of labour maintained through religious beliefs, they are also contributing in maintaining entrenched views of masculinity and femininity within the community.

There is growing support for the view of how tradition and culture enforce and maintain the dominant view of masculinity and femininity. Since men hold the dominant position in the home, they only participate in certain roles, and this could be seen as the reason why they do not participate regularly in the reproductive role with women. Many women appear to be content with this situation as they feel it is their duty as women to perform the tasks in the home. This understanding of role division of women confirms their limited decision-making power regarding how they fill their days.

5.5. Coping mechanisms

When exploring the coping mechanisms of the women of Rehoboth regarding the triple burden they carry, it was revealed that their only coping mechanism is when they receive assistance.

Although the men indicated that they do help with household tasks, some more than others as was revealed by the activities matrix, this was still not enough for these women to handle the pressures of fulfilling three expected roles. We see that there are cases where some women only fulfil two of the three roles, and yet still feel the pressure of these two roles, revealing that the help their husbands give is not enough.

There are of course women who have domestic workers, who help them cope. Then there are women who receive support from family members in coping with their reproductive activities. However, although they do receive this support, the bulk of the reproductive work still falls to them. As it is expected from them, they must still do these activities as was revealed by the activities matrix by the amount of time they spent doing reproductive labour per week.

Some women participants indicated that when they do get help from their spouses; they appreciate it as it lightens their workload in the home. However, they still made the point that time is not enough to complete all of their tasks even with the help of their husbands, and thus still feel this sense of being overwhelmed. Therefore, men's involvement in the home is vital for women to cope with their roles. The reality that emerged through the study, however, paints a different picture. Women are still expected to complete all tasks related to the home, without complaining. However, some women stated that they expect of their husbands to help them when they can and so relate their expectation to them.

Although some men are present and assisting in the reproductive tasks, their wives still feel overwhelmed by the amount of work they must do. This is a reflection of the time difference Winqvist (2004) spoke of in his examination of a European study. Women generally spend more time in the home than outside the home. We see that even with the coping mechanisms the gender power relations are more in favour of the men.

Women must fulfil and cope with the different expectations their families have in order to take care of them. This can be overwhelming when they receive little assistance from their husbands. Therefore, by interrogating and changing the gender division of labour in the triple roles, we will also be able to change how women cope with their different roles, and so also reach an equal gender division of labour amongst these couples.

5.6. Generational changes

When examining the generational changes of the gender division of labour and decision-making power, it was revealed that with the younger couples, younger women had more power in these areas than older women. However, this was only a limited power in some instances where the young women, like the older women, indicated that they still turn to their husbands to take the lead in making decisions regarding the home. We see that with the younger generation. It was believed that for the benefit of all, a wife should work due to financial circumstances, yet the husband still decided that the women should be responsible for household tasks.

The study revealed that with this view of the younger generation, it breaks away from the expected housewife role which can cause dissatisfaction for some women. One participant for instance experienced this dissatisfaction of staying at home – an element similar to what is found in Betty Friedan's (1963) book *The Feminine Mystique*. Although the theory mainly focused on middle-class white women in America, we find that the reality for young women in Namibia is similar to this dissatisfaction of staying at home and so must work.

Some women stated that they find it financially better for both the husband and wife to work and it also keeps her busy. This ability to work can also be seen as giving these women power within the relationship. However, although they work, they are still mainly responsible for household tasks as the activities matrix revealed after the analysis of their activity journals. This element of household tasks still being the main responsibility of women has not changed over the years, from generation to generation, even though today's men have become more involved than previous generations. Some of the men indicated that they do feel it is their responsibility to help their wives at home, yet on analysing their activity journal this was not the case.

When it came to decision-making power, the participants indicated that this has changed over the years and for the better. Women and men now have more equal say, yet when examining the answers, we still see there are instances where the man takes the lead as was done in the past. Some of the participants indicated that it has changed, yet the man is still the head and must take the lead in decision-making.

There was a young couple who acknowledged this change, the wife was raised with a traditional view for the husband to take the lead, as she argues she would want to be a traditional wife. A lot has changed since the debate of the 1960's with Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*. This change was not enough. Women are still responsible for household chores and men are still responsible for the financial care of the home. With feminist advocating the equal division of labour, this will not be enough, as this does not change the socialisation of men and women into their expected gender roles.

The view society has of what is regarded as masculine and what is seen as feminine, will not change unless challenged by members of those communities who want to change things. Factors such as religion, cultural practices and ideology will be a continuing catalyst in maintaining traditional male and female roles within society. The ultimate objective of arriving at an equal division of labour within the triple burden, will only be realised when institutions of religion, culture and those promoting a patriarchal ideology change their perceptions and actively promote it. It will always be expected from women to take the lead in the reproductive role, despite the fact that they are now increasingly entering the productive role and the community service role. As was revealed by the findings like in many other communities, the women and men of the Rehoboth community divide up tasks exactly the same as all other African communities. Although being not tied down to cultural practices and expectations, the patriarchal dominance is the same as in other African and international communities.

The only difference that might be observed is that women are now more aware of their rights, and are now voicing their dissatisfaction of having to do all the household chores and childcare duties. While men are now more aware of the fact that they need to be more active within the home, yet some of them do not actively strive to change this aspect of their relationships with their wives. The gender division of labour and decision-making power will always be a consistent element of the triple burden within the community. Only by changing these two elements will the burden of these three roles be lifted from the women of the Rehoboth area. As a strong determinant of the gender relations between men and women, these couples must strive to change the gender division of labour within their homes, and so reach an equal division of labour in the triple roles.

5.7. Conclusion

In summary, it was revealed that the findings support much of what the literature revealed. Women do the bulk of the reproductive labour in the home, while men are expected to be active within the productive labour even when they are retired. Although this has changed from generation to generation with men becoming more involved in household chores, this does not change the reality of women being responsible for the bulk of the household work. And although women have moved into the productive sphere which was argued for and maintained by Kollantai, Mitchell, Hooks, Davis and Friedan, this does not change the reality for women as they are still expected to take care of their families, the 'second shift' as it is called by Hochchild.

CHAPTER 6

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Recommendations

After looking at the information obtained and the discussion of the literature, it is recommended that participants do the following to have more involvement of men in the home.

- Men need to move away from strict cultural and religious beliefs which can limit women's power in decision-making and their participation in the labour force.
- Men need to take a more active role in helping with childcare and household chores in order to alleviate some of their wives' stress and frustration.
- Men need to value and appreciate the women's reproductive labour as important.
- Women must also try to move away from perpetuating and maintaining the patriarchal discourse in the raising of their children.

- It will also be beneficial for men and women to make an effort to participate in the same community activities; churches and other community institutions should organise and facilitate discussions on gender roles and the triple burden.

For future research, the researcher recommends that the following information will build on this body of research in this community.

- As this was only an exploratory study, an in-depth analysis is needed for a proper understanding of the power relations of the men and women in the Rehoboth community.
- Future findings must be able to be more comparable to the whole community in order to get a clearer view of how the gender division of labour is done in the whole community, especially bringing in greater focus on other groups not classified as Basters.

6.2. Conclusion

In conclusion, when looking at the body of research produced, the reader must keep in mind that this is focused only on one area of Namibia, the town of Rehoboth. Due to the fact that there is almost no existing literature on this community's gender roles, it was difficult in comparing it to other research done. Although the findings can also not be generalised to the whole of the Rehoboth community, it does provide an insight into how the gender division of labour is done within this community.

As was discovered, women do carry the burden of the triple roles and so only receive limited help from their husbands. However, this limited help must not be discredited as was done in many other literatures and theoretical debates. As we have seen, the Marxist and Social Reproductive Theorists were at the forefront of arguing that women were left to carry the majority of the work especially the reproductive labour. By doing this, their husbands were seen as only participating in the productive labour and the community services. However, what the literature failed to indicate is that there are instances where women are actively involved within the productive sphere, and that men are also involved in the reproductive sphere.

As the research has revealed with regard to generational changes, more and more women have become involved in the productive sphere and more and more men are now helping at home. This is especially true with younger couples, as was revealed by the findings. The older couples also indicated that with age, there is now more an involvement of the men in the household. There is of course still a prevalence of housewives, especially in a traditional community like Rehoboth, where men and women were raised to understand that this position is what is expected of them.

Although there have been changes in the division of labour with women having more decision-making power, patriarchy is still prominent and re-enforced by the religious elements of this community. However, some women re-enforce this perception due to how they occupy their roles and see themselves in their marriages.

All three women are housewives and their general consensus is that the man is the head of the house, and as such he must provide financially for the family. This is in support of the Marxist argument and is a reflection of some of their views.

Although there have been changes over the years from women's rights to women's movement out of the home into the workforce, women still do the majority of the work in the household. The time management is a clear indication of this as they do spend more of their time in the home than outside the home. The result is that for women, their home and family remains their primary concern. These women did of course indicate that one coping mechanism to deal with the triple burden of productive labour, reproductive labour and community service, is that they are able to complete their tasks only when their husbands help them or when they receive domestic assistance, or help from family.

Although these findings cannot be generalised to the entire community, it gave the researcher an inside view into how the division of labour is done among the men and women of this area. By conducting this ethnographic exploratory study, we were able to produce a body of literature in a community that has a knowledge gap. The researcher will now be able to compare this research to other literature on the triple burden in other parts of Namibia, or other communities in Africa or internationally. It is important to keep in mind that more research must be done in order to better understand the triple burden of this community and produce more literature in this area.

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ANNEX A

<p>Activities Journal Guide Sheet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please fill in the activities journal every day for two weeks • Record the time spent on each activity • Please fill in your day to day activities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Productive Activities, (Work outside the home) ➤ Reproductive Activities, (Work inside the home and the care of children) ➤ Community Activities, (Work done within your community and/or community groups you are a part of) 	<p>Activities Journal Guide Sheet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please fill in the activities journal everyday for two weeks • Record the time spent on each activity • Please fill in your day to day activities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Productive Activities, (Work outside the home) ➤ Reproductive Activities, (Work inside the home and the care of children) ➤ Community Activities, (Work done within your community and/or community groups you are a part of)
<p>Activities Journal Guide Sheet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please fill in the activities journal everyday for two weeks • Record the time spent on each activity • Please fill in your day to day activities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Productive Activities, (Work outside the home) ➤ Reproductive Activities, (Work inside the home and the care of children) ➤ Community Activities, (Work done within your community and/or community groups you are a part of) 	<p>Activities Journal Guide Sheet</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please fill in the activities journal everyday for two weeks • Record the time spent on each activity • Please fill in your day to day activities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Productive Activities, (Work outside the home) ➤ Reproductive Activities, (Work inside the home and the care of children) ➤ Community Activities, (Work done within your community and/or community groups you are a part of)

ANNEX B

Follow-up interview questions

Follow-up interview regarding the productive, reproductive and community services of women and men from 15 households in the Rehoboth constituency.

1. How old are you?
2. What is your occupation?
3. How long have you been married?
4. How many children do you have?
5. What kind of household tasks do you engage in?
6. Who takes care of the children the majority of the time?
7. What are your thoughts about sharing household tasks with your spouse?
8. Do you consider it important for your spouse to have a job? Please elaborate on your answer.
9. Do you regularly take part in community services? (If yes, what kind of activities and if no, please elaborate why not).
10. Do you get paid for any of the community services you engage in?
11. Who makes the decisions regarding the division of tasks in the home and outside the home?
12. Does your spouse have equal say in deciding who does what tasks?
13. Do you consider it important that your spouse share in all tasks in the home and also share in childcare? Please elaborate on your answer.

14. Do you consider that you have enough time during the day to complete all your tasks both inside the home and outside the home? Please elaborate on your answer.
15. Do you think men and women should have equal say in deciding who does what in the different roles? Please elaborate on your answer.

Annex C**Harvard Tool 1: Activity Profile**

Activities	Women	Men
Productive Activities Income generating: Activity 1 Activity 2 Employment: Activity 1 Activity 2 Other:		
Reproductive Activities Food Preparation: Childcare: Health Related: Cleaning and Repair of home: Market related: Other:		
Community Services Church Activities: Community Groups:		

Annex D**Harvard Tool 2: Access and Control Profile**

	Access		Control	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Resources House Labour Cash Education/Training Other				
Benefits Dual income Asset ownership Basic needs (food, clothing, shelter etc) Education Political Power/Prestige Other				

Annex E**Harvard Tool 3: Influencing Factors**

Influencing Factors	Constraints	Opportunities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community norms and social hierarchy • Demographic factors • Institutional structures • Economic factors • Legal Parameters • Training • Attitude of community to development • Attitude to gender equality • Attitude to historical changes in division of labour 		